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YEAR BOOK
OF THE
Central Conference
OF
American Rabbis

VOLUME XVIII

EDITED BY

JULIAN MORGENSTERN, DAVID LEFKOWITZ AND DAVID PHILIPSON,
YEAR BOOK EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

1908



5668

CONTAINING THE
PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONVENTION

HELD AT

FRANKFORT, MICHIGAN, U. S. A.

July 1 to 8, 1908.

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OFFICERS

FOR THE YEAR 1907-1908.

HONORARY PRESIDENT,
KAUFMAN KOHLER, Cincinnati, Ohio.

PRESIDENT,
DAVID PHILIPSON, Cincinnati, Ohio.

VICE-PRESIDENT,
MAX HELLER, New Orleans, La.

TREASURER,
CHARLES S. LEVI, Peoria, Ill.

RECORDING SECRETARY,
DAVID LEFKOWITZ, Dayton, Ohio.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY,
JULIAN MORGENSTERN, Cincinnati, Ohio.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

W. S. FRIEDMAN.....	Denver, Colo.
M. J. GRIES.....	Cleveland, O.
L. GROSSMANN.....	Cincinnati, O.
M. H. HARRIS.....	New York, N. Y.
S. HIRSHBERG.....	Milwaukee, Wis.
M. NEWFIELD.....	Birmingham, Ala.
I. L. RYPINS.....	St. Paul, Minn.
T. SCHANFARBER.....	Chicago, Ill.
A. SIMON.....	Washington, D. C.
S. SCHULMAN.....	New York, N. Y.
J. STOLZ.....	Chicago, Ill.

STANDING COMMITTEES

1907-1908.

Publication.

J. Stolz, M. H. Harris, J. Silverman,
S. Foster, I. S. Moses.

Ministers' Fund.

M. Messing, W. H. Greenberg, A. R. Levy.

Sermonic Literature.

S. Hirshberg, W. H. Fineshreiber, N. Krass,
E. N. Calisch, I. Landman, W. Rosenau.

Editorial Committee Ministers' Handbook.

T. Schanfarber, Max Heller, H. Ettelson,
S. Hirshberg, J. Stolz.

Contemporaneous History.

G. Deutsch, J. Morgenstern,

Elaboration of a Systematic Jewish Theology.

S. Schulman, L. Grossmann, M. Landsberg,
E. Feldman, E. G. Hirsch, M. Lefkovits,
M. Friedlander, J. Krauskopf, S. Sale.

Social and Religious Union and Lyceum Bureau.

L. M. Franklin, M. C. Currick, B. Sadler,
L. Bernstein, A. Hirschberg, M. Silber,
L. Wolsey.

Church and State.

D. Lefkowitz, S. L. Kory, I. E. Marcuson,
M. M. Feuerlicht, I. L. Leucht, A. Simon,
C. J. Freund, I. Lewinthal, J. B. Wise,
E. Frisch, L. Mannheimer.

Week-Day Services.

H. G. Enelow,	L. M. Franklin,	M. J. Gries,
	I. S. Moses.	

Geiger Centenary.

K. Kohler,	E. G. Hirsch,	S. Sale,
G. Deutsch,	M. L. Margolis,	S. Schulman,
H. G. Enelow,	D. Philipson.	

Religious Work in Universities.

M. J. Gries,	A. T. Godshaw,	A. Lyons,
H. Englander,	A. Guttmacher,	G. Zepin.

Scripture Readings.

M. H. Harris,	R. Grossman,	M. A. Meyer,
S. H. Goldenson,	A. Lyons.	

Domestic Service.

H. Berkowitz,	L. Mendoza,	M. Salzman,
G. A. Kohut,	C. A. Rubenstein,	A. Simon.

Religious Schools.

L. Grossmann,	M. N. A. Cohen,	A. S. Isaacs,
D. Alexander,	F. Cohn,	M. Merritt.

Curators of Archives.

J. Morgenstern,	J. Mielziner.
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Investments.

I. E. Marcuson,	C. S. Levi,	J. H. Meyer.
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Pulpit Candidating.

L. Witt,	E. Mannheimer,	M. Newfield,
A. S. Anspacher,	D. Marx,	H. Weiss,
J. Feuerlicht,	P. Jacobs,	M. Zielonka.

Additional Friday Evening Services.

M. Heller,	S. Hecht,	A. G. Moses,
W. S. Friedman,	E. Kahn.	

Responsa.

K. Kohler,	M. Landsberg,	J. Stolz,
B. Felsenthal,	S. Mannheimer,	J. Voorsanger,
J. Krauskopf,	J. Rappaport.	

Instruction of Blind, Deaf Mutes, Etc.

A. Simon,	J. S. Kornfeld,	S. Peiser,
D. Blaustein,	S. Lowenstein.	

Harmonization of Mosaic and Modern Marriage Laws.

W. Rosenau,	J. S. Raisin,	J. Silverman,
A. Guttmacher,	A. Rhine,	J. Voorsanger,
J. L. Magnes,	I. L. Rypins.	

Card Index.

G. Deutsch,	S. Koch,	M. Reichler,
A. Brill,	E. Leipziger,	L. J. Rothstein,
S. G. Bottigheimer,	M. Lovitch,	J. D. Schwartz,
J. Raisin,	M. Raisin,	J. H. Stolz,
I. Klein,	J. Rauch,	L. Volmer.

Editing Year Book.

T. Schanfarber,	S. Hirshberg,	J. Stolz.
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Union Hymnal Revision.

C. S. Levi,	H. W. Ettelson,	D. Marx,
I. Aaron,	J. Leiser,	H. Weiss.

Tracts.

The President and Vice-President (by appointment of the Executive Committee).

A. Hirschberg,	J. Stolz,	L. Wolsey.
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Committee on Synagogal Music and on Securing Board of Editors for the Publication of Synagogal Music:

N. Stern,	N. Gordon,	J. Leucht.
W. Loewenberg,	E. Mayer,	

OFFICERS

FOR THE YEAR 1908-1909.

HONORARY PRESIDENT,
KAUFMAN KOHLER, Cincinnati, Ohio.

PRESIDENT,
DAVID PHILIPSON, Cincinnati, Ohio.

VICE-PRESIDENT,
MAX HELLER, New Orleans, La.

TREASURER,
CHARLES S. LEVI, Peoria, Ill.

RECORDING SECRETARY,
DAVID LEFKOWITZ, Dayton, Ohio.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY,
JULIAN MORGENSTERN, Cincinnati, Ohio.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

H. BERKOWITZ.....	Philadelphia, Pa.
H. G. ENELOW.....	Louisville, Ky.
W. H. GREENBURG.....	Dallas, Texas.
M. J. GRIES.....	Cleveland, O.
A. GUTTMACHER.....	Baltimore, Md.
S. HIRSHBERG.....	Milwaukee, Wis.
D. MARX.....	Atlanta, Ga.
M. NEWFIELD.....	Birmingham, Ala.
I. L. RYPINS.....	St. Paul, Minn.
S. SCHULMAN.....	New York, N. Y.
J. STOLZ.....	Chicago, Ill.

STANDING COMMITTEES 1908-1909.

Publication.

A. Guttmacher, S. Foster, M. H. Harris,
 M. A. Meyer. S. H. Goldenson,

Relief Fund.

J. Stolz, I. L. Rypins, M. Messing.

Sermonic Literature.

S. Hirshberg, N. Krass, G. Solomon,
 J. H. Stolz, H. Weiss.

Editorial Committee of Ministers' Handbook.

H. G. Enelow, H. W. Ettelson, M. Heller,
H. Berkowitz, M. M. Feuerlicht, M. Merritt.

Contemporaneous History.

G. Deutsch, M. N. A. Cohen, E. Frisch.

Elaboration of a Systematic Jewish Theology.

S. Schulman, E. Feldman, M. Friedlander,
E. G. Hirsch, K. Kohler, J. Krauskopf,
M. Landsberg, M. Lefkowitz, D. Neumark.
 S. Sale,

Social and Religious Union.

L. Wolsey, J. Jasin, E. W. Leipziger,
 J. Rappaport, A. Rhine.

Lyceum Bureau.

L. M. Franklin, I. Aaron, S. G. Bottigheimer,
 S. L. Kory, E. Mannheimer.

Church and State.

D. Lefkowitz, H. Cohen, W. S. Friedman,
E. Frisch, M. Heller, J. Krauskopf,
M. Newfield, A. Simon, J. B. Wise.

Geiger Centenary.

K. Kohler,	G. Deutsch,	H. G. Enelow,
E. G. Hirsch,	M. L. Margolis,	D. Neumark,
S. Sale,	S. Schulman,	D. Philipson.

Religious Work in Universities.

E. N. Calisch,	H. Englander,	A. Hirschberg,
	E. Kahn.	

Scripture Readings.

M. H. Harris,	S. H. Goldenson,	R. Grossman,
A. Lyons,	M. A. Meyer.	

Domestic Service.

H. Berkowitz,	I. Landman,	E. Mayer,
C. A. Rubenstein,	M. Salzman.	

Religious Schools.

M. J. Gries,	D. Alexander,	F. Cohn,
C. J. Freund,	L. Grossman,	J. H. Kaplan,
J. S. Kornfeld,	A. G. Moses,	G. Solomon,
L. Witt,	M. A. Meyer.	

Curators of Archives.

J. Morgenstern,	J. Mielziner,
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Investments.

I. E. Marcuson,	C. S. Levi,	J. H. Meyer.
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Responsa.

K. Kohler,	G. Deutsch.
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Instruction of Blind, Deaf Mutes, Etc.

A. Simon,	D. Blaustein,	S. C. Lowenstein,
J. S. Kornfeld,	S. Peiser.	

Harmonization of Mosaic and Modern Marriage Laws.

I. L. Rypins,	A. S. Anspacher,	I. L. Leucht,
A. Lyons,	S. Mannheimer,	I. S. Moses,
M. Silber,	J. Silverman.	

Editing Yearbook.

J. Morgenstern,	D. Lefkowitz,	D. Philipson.
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Synagogal Music.

D. Marx,	H. W. Ettelson,	N. Gordon,
E. Mayer,	N. Stern,	H. Weiss.

Tracts.

D. Philipson,	L. M. Franklin,	M. Heller,
J. Stolz,	L. Wolsey.	

Finance.

J. Morgenstern,	M. J. Gries,	D. Marx.
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Summer Services.

G. Zepin,	T. Schanfarber,	W. H. Fineshreiber.
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Journal.

M. Heller,	W. H. Greenburg,	M. Lovitch.
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TEMPORARY COMMITTEES OF FRANKFORT CONVENTION.

President's Message.

JOSEPH STOLZ, *Chairman.*

A. Guttmacher,	M. Heller,	S. Foster,
I. L. Rypins,	H. Berkowitz,	C. S. Levi,
J. Krauskopf,	W. Rosenau,	F. Cohn,
K. Kohler,	H. G. Enelow,	S. Schulman.

Resolutions.

NATHAN KRASS, *Chairman.*

M. Newfield,	G. Zepin,	A. Anspacher,
N. Stern,	W. H. Greenburg,	J. S. Kornfeld,
S. Hirshberg,	J. H. Kaplan,	H. Weiss,
	L. Bernstein.	

Thanks.

DAVID MARX, *Chairman.*

S. G. Bottigheimer,	E. Ellinger,	J. Jasin,
A. J. Messing,	D. Neumark,	M. Silber,
	I. Klein.	

Auditing Report of Treasurer.

I. E. MARCUSON, *Chairman.*

E. Frisch,	J. Rauch,	J. H. Stolz.
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Auditing Report of Publication Committee.

C. S. LEVI, *Chairman.*

G. Solomon,	J. Mielziner,	E. Kahn,
	L. Rothstein.	

Nominations.

M. J. GRIES, *Chairman.*

M. C. Currick,
L. Witt,

S. Goldenson,
H. W. Ettelson,

C. J. Freund,
D. Alexander.

Press.

E. Leipziger,

E. Mannheimer,

A. B. Rhine.

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS.

Program of Nineteenth Annual Convention.

Frankfort, Mich., July 1-8, 1908.

WEDNESDAY-EVENING, JULY 1, 1908.

Prayer.....Rabbi Henry Berkowitz

Roll Call.

Week-Day Service.....Rabbi Joseph Jasin

President's Message.....Rabbi David Philipson

Memorial Addresses { Rabbi Bernhard Felsenthal,
Delivered by Rabbi Joseph Stolz
Rabbi Jacob Voorsanger,
Delivered by Rabbi Jonah B. Wise
Rev. Alois Kaiser,
Delivered by Rabbi Adolph Guttmacher

Report of Committee on Memorial Resolutions.....

Rabbi Charles S. Levi

Kaddish and Benediction.....Rabbi Max Heller

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 2, 1908.

Prayer.....Rabbi George Solomon

Report of Corresponding Secretary.....Rabbi Julian Morgenstern

Report of Recording Secretary.....Rabbi David Lefkowitz

Report of Treasurer.....Rabbi Charles S. Levi

Report of Publication Committee.....Rabbi Joseph Stolz

Paper—Samson Raphael Hirsch, in honor of the Centenary
of his birth.....Rabbi Max Heller

Discussed by..... { Rabbi K. Kohler
Rabbi Martin A. Meyer

THURSDAY EVENING.

ROUND TABLE DISCUSSIONS.

The Rabbi's Problems in Smaller Communities—

Leader.....Rabbi Wm. Fineshreiber

The Rabbi and Fraternal Organizations—

Leader.....Rabbi Morris Newfield

FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 3, 1908.

Prayer.....Rabbi Joseph Rauch

Report of Committees on Contemporaneous History and

Card Index.....Prof. Gotthard Deutsch

Report of Committee on Geiger Centenary.....Rabbi K. Kohler

Paper—The Significance of the Bible for Reform Judaism

in the Light of Modern Scientific Research.....

Rabbi Julian Morgenstern

Discussed by..... { Rabbi Nathan Krass
Rabbi Harry W. Ettleson

FRIDAY EVENING.

Services conducted by.....Rabbi Nathan Stern

Conference Sermon.....Rabbi Wm. Rosenau

Prayer and Benediction.....Rabbi Seymour G. Bottigheimer

SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 4, 1908.

Services conducted by.....Rabbi Jacob Mielziner

Conference Lecture.....Rabbi Wm. H. Greenburg

Prayer and Benediction.....Rabbi Charles J. Freund

SUNDAY MORNING, JULY 5, 1908.

Prayer.....Rabbi Martin A. Meyer

Report of Committee on Sermonic Literature.....

Rabbi Samuel Hirshberg

Report of Committee on Tracts.....Rabbi David Philipson

Paper—IntermarriageRabbi Mendel Silber

SUNDAY EVENING.

ROUND TABLE DISCUSSIONS.

The Rabbi's Pastoral Work—

Leader.....Rabbi Frederick Cohn

How to Conduct a Bible Class—

Leader.....Rabbi Adolph Guttmacher

MONDAY MORNING, JULY 6, 1908.

Prayer.....Rabbi Max C. Currick

Report of Committee on Religious Work in Universities...

Rabbi Moses J. Gries

Report of Committee on Instruction of Blind, Deaf Mutes,

etc.....Rabbi Abram Simon

Report of Committee on Church and State.. Rabbi David Lefkowitz

Report of Committee on President's Message...Rabbi Joseph Stolz

Paper—Crescas and Spinoza, in commemoration of the Fifth

Centenary of the publication of the "Or Adonoi"...

Prof. David Neumark

MONDAY EVENING.

ROUND TABLE DISCUSSIONS.

The Most Helpful Book of the Year—

Leaders..... { Rabbi Jonah B. Wise
Rabbi Abraham B. Rhine

The Superannuated Ministers' Fund—

Leader.....Rabbi Harry Weiss

TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 7, 1908.

Prayer.....Rabbi Eugene Mannheimer

Report of Committee on President's Message (Continued).....

Report of Committee on Church and State (Continued).....

Paper—Crescas and Spinoza (Continued).....

Report of Committee on Systematic Jewish Theology.....

Rabbi Samuel Schulman

TUESDAY AFTERNOON.

- Report of Committee on Social and Religious Union and
Lyceum Bureau.....Rabbi Leo M. Franklin
Report of Committee on Union Hymnal.....Rabbi David Marx
Report of Committee on Responsa.....Rabbi K. Kohler
Report of Committee on Scriptural Readings.....
Rabbi Maurice H. Harris
Report of Committee on Domestic Service and Union
Haggadah.....Rabbi Henry Berkowitz
Report of Committee on Additional Friday Evening Service,
Rabbi Max Heller
Report of Committee on Week-Day Service...Rabbi H. G. Enelow
Report of Committee on Ministers' Handbook.....
Rabbi Tobias Schanfarber

WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 8, 1908.

- Prayer.....Rabbi Harry Weiss
Report of Auditing Committee.
Report of Committee on Auditing Report of Publication Committee.
Report of Committee on Resolutions.
Report of Committee on Thanks.
Report of Nominating Committee.
Election of Officers.
Closing Prayer and Benediction.....Rabbi K. Kohler

Constitution and By-Laws

OF THE

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS.*

ARTICLE I.—NAME.

This organization shall be known as the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECT.

The objects of this organization shall be, to foster a feeling of association and brotherhood among the Rabbis and other Jewish scholars of America, to advance the cause of Jewish learning, to encourage all efforts toward the propagation of the teachings of Judaism, and to make provision for such worthy colleagues, as owing to advanced age or other cause, are prevented from following their calling.

ARTICLE III.—MEMBERSHIP.

SECTION. 1. All active and retired Rabbis of congregations, and Professors of Rabbinical Seminaries shall be eligible for membership. All applications for membership shall be acted upon by the Executive Board.

SEC. 2. Honorary members may be elected by the Conference when unanimously proposed by the Executive Board.

ARTICLE IV.—DUES.

SECTION 1. The annual dues of members shall be five dollars, payable at the beginning of each fiscal year.

SEC. 2. These dues shall entitle the members to a copy of all publications of the Association.

SEC. 3. One-half of the annual dues collected, shall be paid into a fund called "The Relief Fund of the Conference," to be used at the discretion of the Trustees of this Fund for the assistance of any deserving or properly qualified Rabbi who has been in service in America at least five years, or his family.*¹

*Adopted at Milwaukee, v. Year Book 1896, p. 71.

*¹v. Milwaukee Year Book, p. 76.

SEC. 4. Any member in arrears for two years' dues, shall be suspended by the Executive Board, and may be reinstated at any future time by the Executive Board upon payment of all arrears. Notification of suspension shall be sent to the suspended member by the Corresponding Secretary.

SEC. 5. In exceptional cases, where it may be deemed proper, the Executive Board may remit some or all the dues of a member.

ARTICLE V.—EXPULSION.

SECTION 1. When any member of this Conference, by public or private conduct, has rendered himself unworthy of membership, the Executive Board shall make thorough investigation of the charges, giving the accused ample opportunity to defend himself, and if the charges are found true, shall expel said member from the Conference.

SEC. 2. No expulsion shall be made unless eight (8) or more members of the Executive Board vote for the same.

SEC. 3. An expelled member shall have the right to appeal from the decision of the Executive Board to the Conference at its regular annual meeting, and the session at which such appeal is heard shall be executive.

ARTICLE VI.—OFFICERS.

SECTION 1. The officers of this Conference shall be a President, a Vice-President, Recording Secretary, Corresponding Secretary, and Treasurer, who, with the addition of eleven*¹ executive members shall constitute the Executive Board.

SEC. 2. There shall be three Trustees who shall have charge of the moneys in the "Relief Fund of the Conference," and of the distribution of the same.

SEC. 3. These officers shall be elected annually by ballot, and shall hold their offices until their successors have been elected, provided, however, that no member shall be eligible to the presidency for more than two successive terms.*²

*¹v. Year Book XIV p. 163, XV p. 163, XVI p. 69 and XVII p. 79.

*²v. Year Book XII p. 97 and XIII p. 101.

ARTICLE VII.—MEETINGS.

SECTION 1. This Association shall meet annually in general Conference in the month of July, at such time and place as the previous Conference or its Executive Board shall decide.

SEC. 2. Notice of the time and place of each annual meeting shall be mailed to all members, at least four weeks in advance.

ARTICLE VIII.—AMENDMENTS.

SECTION 1. Amendments to this Constitution shall be submitted in writing to be presented before the Convention in one year and acted upon at the next Annual Convention.

SEC. 2. The Executive Board shall give notice of proposed amendments to each member at least four weeks before the annual meeting.

SEC. 3. A two-thirds vote of the members present at an annual meeting shall be necessary to adopt any such proposed amendment.

BY-LAWS.

ARTICLE I.—DUTIES OF OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE BOARD.

SECTION 1. The officers of the Conference shall perform the duties usually incumbent upon such officers. They shall submit annually to the Conference, a report in writing, of their official transactions in the past year.

SEC. 2. The Treasurer and Trustees of the Relief Fund shall give bonds in such sums as shall be determined by the Executive Board. No moneys of the Conference shall be paid out by the Treasurer except per vouchers drawn by the Corresponding Secretary and signed by the President.

SEC. 3. It shall be the duty of the Executive Board:

a. To take charge of the affairs of the Conference during adjournment.

b. To arrange a specified program for the work of each meeting

and to send same to each member of the Conference at least four weeks in advance of the annual meeting.

c To publish in pamphlet form, and in time for distribution at the annual meeting, a Year Book, containing a full report of the transactions of the preceding convention, together with papers read and addresses made or abstracts of the same.

SEC. 4. Notice of meetings of the Executive Board and of the business to be brought up at such meetings, shall be sent to all members of the Board at least two weeks before the meetings take place, and every member of the Board shall have the right to express his opinion and record his vote by correspondence. No important matter shall be decided in the Executive Board except by majority vote of all its members, expressed either in person or in writing. Five members of the Executive Board shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

SEC. 5. Vacancies occurring in the Board after adjournment of the Conference shall be filled by the Board for the unexpired term until the next election.

ARTICLE II.—TEMPORARY COMMITTEES.

SECTION 1. The President shall at the opening of each convention of the Conference appoint the following temporary committees:

1. Committee on President's Message.
2. Committee on Resolutions.
3. Committee on Nominations.
4. Auditing Committee.

SEC. 2. The Committee on President's Message shall take charge of the same and shall report on any suggestions or recommendations contained therein.

SEC. 3. The Committee on Resolutions shall take charge of all resolutions offered at the convention, unless otherwise ordered, and report upon the same before final adjournment.

SEC. 4. The Committee on Nominations shall submit a list of names to be voted on at the concluding session of each convention for all officers specified in Article VI., Section 1, of the Constitution.

SEC. 5. The Auditing Committee shall examine the Treasurer's report and the financial report of all committees handling moneys of and by authority of the Conference, and shall report thereon.

ARTICLE III.—STANDING COMMITTEES.

SECTION 1. The President shall appoint the following committees and such other standing committees as may be found necessary by the Conference from time to time:

1. Committee on Publication.
2. Committee on Finance.
3. Committee on Investment.
4. Committee on Relations of Church and State.
5. Committee on Contemporaneous History.
6. Curators of Archives.
7. Committee on Religious Schools.
8. Trustees of Ministers' Fund.
9. Committee on Card Index.
10. Committee on Social and Religious Union.
11. Committee on Tracts.
12. Committee on Lyceum Bureau.

SEC. 2. The Committee on Publication shall have charge of all publications of the Conference authorized by the Executive Board, excepting the Year Book. It shall make a report to the Executive Board whenever requested to do so. One-half of the net profits accruing from all publications of the Conference, authorized by the Executive Board, shall be placed to the credit of the Relief Fund.

SEC. 3. The Committee on Finance shall consist of the Corresponding Secretary of the Conference as Chairman and two members of the Executive Committee. To it shall be referred all recommendations of appropriation of money, upon which it shall report to the Conference if in session, otherwise to the Executive Committee. It shall submit to the Conference at its annual convention a complete report of the finances of the Conference. It shall submit to the Executive Committee at its fall meeting a financial report and a budget for the year.

SEC. 4. The Committee on Investments, of which the Treasurer shall be a member, shall invest all funds of the Conference, subject to the instructions of the Executive Committee. It shall present to the Conference at its annual convention a complete report of investments, duly audited.

SEC. 5. The Committee on Relations of Church and State shall report on encroachments upon the rights of conscience in our country and shall collect literary material helpful toward the protection and preservation of those rights.

SEC. 6. The Committee on Contemporaneous History shall report to each convention of the Conference on all important matters of Jewish interest which have occurred during the year.

SEC. 7. The Curators of the Archives shall, for permanent safe keeping in the appointed place of deposit, take charge of all papers, books and documents of the Conference, to be preserved, and shall prepare for ready reference an index record of the same.

SEC. 8. The Committee on Religious Schools shall consider and report on questions submitted to the Conference relating to religious education.

SEC. 9. The Committee on Card Index shall gather all data of historic interest from current periodicals and newly published books and record them under proper captions on alphabetically arranged cards which shall be preserved in a place designated by this Conference. This committee shall gradually extend its work to the historical data contained in old periodicals and works of history.

SEC. 10. The Committee on Social and Religious Union shall gather and collate statistics relating to congregational activities outside the pulpit and religious school, devise and recommend ways and means of emphasizing the central character of the congregation in the scheme of Jewish life and suggest measures that shall make for the greater efficiency of the Synagogue.

ARTICLE IV.—QUORUM.

Twenty-one members shall constitute a quorum at the meetings of the Conference for the transaction of business.

ARTICLE V.—ORDER OF BUSINESS FOR ANNUAL MEETINGS.

1. Roll Call.
2. Secretary's Report of the transactions of the Executive Board, including the full proceedings of its last meeting.
3. Program of business for the daily sessions.
4. Appointment of Standing Committees.
5. Report of President.
6. Reports of other officers.
7. Offering of Resolutions.
8. Reports of Standing Committees.
9. Reports of Special Committees.
10. Reading of Papers.
11. Unfinished Business.
12. New Business.
13. Election of Officers.
14. Sketch of the Minutes of the Conference.

ARTICLE VI.—AMENDMENTS.

These By-Laws may be amended or altered by a two-thirds vote of the members present at any meeting of the Conference.

Proceedings of the Nineteenth Annual Convention
OF THE
CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

Held at Frankfort, Mich., July 1-8, 1908.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 1, 1908—8:00 P. M.

The Conference was opened in the Auditorium of the Royal Frontenac Hotel with prayer by Rabbi Henry Berkowitz, of Philadelphia, Pa.

The roll was then called, to which the following fifty-seven members responded during the convention:

Alexander, D., Toledo, O.
Anspacher, A. S., Scranton, Pa.
Berkowitz, H., Philadelphia, Pa.
Bernstein, L., St. Joseph, Mo.
Bottigheimer, S. G., Natchez, Miss.
Cohn, F., Omaha, Neb.
Currick, M. C., Erie, Pa.
Ellinger, E., Stockton, Cal.
Enelow, H. G., Louisville, Ky.
Ettelson, H. W., Ft. Wayne, Ind.
Fineshreiber, W. H., Davenport, Ia.
Foster, S., Newark, N. J.
Freund, C. J., Salt Lake City, Utah.
Frisch, E., Pine Bluff, Ark.
Goldenson, S. H., Albany, N. Y.
Greenburg, W. H., Dallas, Tex.
Gries, M. J., Cleveland, O.
Guttmacher, A., Baltimore, Md.
Heller, M., New Orleans, La.
Hirshberg, S., Milwaukee, Wis.

Jasin, J., Ft. Worth, Tex.
Kahn, E., Grand Rapids, Mich.
Kaplan, J. H., Selma, Ala.
Klein, I., Helena, Mont.
Kohler, K., Cincinnati, O.
Kornfeld, J. S., Columbus, O.
Kory, S. L., Vicksburg, Miss.
Krass, N., La Fayette, Ind.
Krauskopf, J., Philadelphia, Pa.
Lefkowitz, D., Dayton, O.
Leipziger, E., Terre Haute, Ind.
Levi, C. S., Peoria, Ill.
Mannheimer, E., Des Moines, Ia.
Marcuson, I. E., Sandusky, O.
Marx, D., Atlanta, Ga.
Messing, A. J., Chicago, Ill.
Meyer, M. A., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Mielziner, J., Cincinnati, O.
Morgenstern, J., Cincinnati, O.
Neumark, D., Cincinnati, O.
Newfield, M., Birmingham, Ala.
Philipson, D., Cincinnati, O.
Rauch, J., Sioux City, Ia.
Rhine, A. B., Hot Springs, Ark.
Rosenau, W., Baltimore, Md.
Rothstein, L. J., Alexandria, La.
Rypins, I. L., St. Paul, Minn.
Schulman, S., New York, N. Y.
Silber, M., St. Louis, Mo.
Solomon, G., Savannah, Ga.
Stern, N., Trenton, N. J.
Stolz, J., Chicago, Ill.
Stolz, J. H., Altoona, Pa.
Weiss, H., Macon, Ga.
Wise, J. B., Portland, Ore.
Witt, L., Little Rock, Ark.
Zepin, G., Chicago, Ill.

Telegrams and letters of greeting were received and read during the Conference from Rabbis B. A. Bonnheim, H. Cohen, M. N. A. Cohen, G. Deutsch, M. Elkin, J. Feuerlicht, M. M. Feuerlicht, L. M. Franklin, A. S. Isaacs, I. Lewinthal, A. Lyons, I. S. Moses, J. Rappaport and T. Schanfarber.

The evening service for week days was read by Rabbi Joseph Jasin.

The President, David Philipson, then read his message. (v. Appendix A.)

At its conclusion the Vice-President, M. Heller, put the question of its disposal. Rabbi Rypins moved that the message be received and referred to a committee. Seconded by J. Stolz. Carried.

The Committee on President's Message was announced as follows: J. Stolz, Chairman; Krauskopf, Berkowitz, Heller, Rosenau, Schulman, C. S. Levi, Rypins, Enelow, M. A. Meyer, Foster and F. Cohn.

Memorial addresses were then read, on Rev. Dr. Bernhard Felsenthal, by Rabbi Joseph Stolz; on Rev. Dr. Jacob Voorsanger, by Rabbi Jonah B. Wise, and on Rev. Alois Kaiser, by Rabbi Adolph Guttmacher. (v. Appendix B.)

The following resolutions in memory of Rabbi Judah Wechsler were presented by Rabbi Charles S. Levi, Chairman of the Committee on Memorial Resolutions, and adopted by a rising vote:

The Central Conference of American Rabbis, learning of the death of Judah Wechsler, who was a member since the founding of the Conference in 1889, desires to place on record the following memorial resolution in recognition of the more than fifty years of his loyal service in the pulpits of American Judaism:

Whereas, Judah Wechsler, of the Indianapolis Hebrew congregation, has served his God and his people for over two score years and ten as teacher and preacher in Israel;

Whereas, He in his loving ministrations secured the good will of the followers of all denominations for himself and his people, thereby bringing honor to Judaism and glory to God;

Whereas, He by written and by spoken word ever championed the cause of Israel up to his eightieth year of life; be it

Resolved, That the Central Conference of American Rabbis place on the record of their proceedings in grateful recognition of his faithful services

this sincere expression of sorrow at the demise of their brother and colleague; and be it further

Resolved, That this memorial resolution of sympathy be conveyed to the bereaved wife and family of Judah Wechsler, to whom may God grant peace of soul and the reward of the righteous.

Signed:

CHARLES S. LEVI, *Chairman*.

ISAAC L. RYPINS,

MORRIS NEWFIELD.

THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 2, 1908.

The meeting was opened with prayer by Rabbi George Solomon.

The minutes of the session of the previous evening were read by the Recording Secretary and approved.

The report of the Corresponding Secretary, Rabbi Julian Morgenstern, was then read, and on motion received, with directions that it be printed in the Year Book.

FRANKFORT, MICH., July 1, 1908.

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis:-

GENTLEMEN: Your Corresponding Secretary begs leave to submit the following report of the work entrusted to him during the past year:

Circular letters were sent to all members of the Conference early in September, calling their attention to various matters of importance, among others requesting them to devote one sermon during the holidays to an appeal for students for the Hebrew Union College. Address cards were also sent them, which, however, were returned, and that not very promptly, by only a fraction of the members. It is important that these cards be filled out promptly by all members from year to year, in order that the Corresponding Secretary may have a correct record of addresses, congregational officers to whom our communications to congregations may be sent, etc. The members were also informed that all Conference publications could be had by them upon application. Accordingly a larger number of Conference publications were distributed among our members than ever before. Another circular letter was sent to our members later in regard to the contemplated issue of a new translation of the Old Testament, and one still later urging them to attend this Conference.

Circular letters were also sent to all congregations affiliated with the U. A. H. C. and all others ministered to by our members calling attention to certain institutions, acts and resolutions of the Conference requiring the especial co-operation of the congregation for their successful realization, viz., the Lyceum Bureau, "Young Israel," the pension fund for superannuated ministers, the appointment of Rabbis in large centers of population to minister to the spiritual needs of the Jewish sick, prisoners and criminals in the various institutions of charity and correction, and to Jewish students in universities,

pulpit candidating, and the payment of the expenses of the Rabbi consequent upon attendance at the annual conferences. A summary of the work of the last Conference was also sent to these congregations. Later a circular letter was sent to the congregations ministered to by our members, representing the benefits to be derived from attendance at the Conference, and urging each to pay the expenses of its Rabbi at this Conference. Quite a number of favorable replies were received.

A new set of congregational membership cards, like those issued in former years, was printed and distributed among all congregations applying for them.

During the past year the following one hundred and four vouchers were issued, amounting to \$6,264.42:

1907—

Aug.	23	Toby Rubovits, for printing, mailing, etc.....	\$ 140.66
"	23	Fanny Rauh, for typewriting and stenographic work.....	10.00
"	23	Henrietta P. Soden, for typewriting.....	3.00
"	23	A. C. McClurg & Co., for scratch pads.....	.60
"	23	Leon Brummer, for services as certified public accountant.....	15.00
"	23	Twentieth Century Press Clipping Bureau for six clippings for July.....	1.00
"	23	Chicago Addressing Co. for addressing envelopes.....	11.82
"	23	David Philipson, for money advanced.....	1.80
"	23	Rabbi J. Theodor, for subvention.....	25.00
"	23	Central Trust and Safe Deposit Company, for rental.....	5.00
"	23	T. Schanfarber, for postage, clerical work, expressage....	2.43
"	23	Leland B. Case, for stenographic services.....	100.00
"	23	Rev. Dr. Nachman Heller, for check returned.....	5.00
"	23	J. Morgenstern, for postage, expressage, etc.....	1.98
"	23	M. Rosenthal & Co., for printing stationery.....	20.00
"	23	Pension	41.67
Sept.	15	Central Trust and Safe Deposit Company, additional storage charges.....	1.75
"	15	S. Rosenthal & Co., for printing.....	7.50
"	15	Twentieth Century Press Clipping Bureau, for clippings for August.....	1.00
"	15	Williams & Co., for binding prayer-books.....	1,560.00
"	15	Pension	41.66
"	15	J. Morgenstern, for postage and expressage.....	6.16
Oct.	20	Leo M. Franklin, for expenses of Lyceum Bureau.....	43.00
"	20	Wm. S. Friedman, for trip to Cincinnati.....	89.00
"	20	Abram Simon, for trip to Cincinnati.....	28.00
"	20	Phoenix Club, for dining Executive Committee.....	34.35
"	20	C. S. Levi, printing, postage, etc., trip to Cincinnati.....	41.50
"	20	S. Hirshberg, for trip to Cincinnati.....	25.00
"	20	Toby Rubovits, for printing and postage.....	62.10

Oct.	20	S. Rosenthal & Co., for printing.....	3.25
"	20	Pension	41.67
"	20	Pension	25.00
"	20	J. Morgenstern, for postage and expressage.....	2.09
Sept.	12	M. J. Gries (through C. S. Levi), expenses of Executive Committee at Frankfort, Mich.....	27.42
"	12	Pension	41.63
"	12	Pension	75.00
"	12	Pension	35.00
Oct.	27	M. Newfield, for trip to Cincinnati.....	34.00
"	27	M. J. Gries, for trip to Cincinnati.....	20.00
"	27	M. Heller, for trip to Cincinnati.....	24.75
"	27	J. Morgenstern, for postage.....	7.11
"	27	American Press, for printing.....	1.50
Nov.	3	I. L. Rypins, for trip to Cincinnati.....	40.00
Nov.	17	S. Rosenthal & Co., for printing.....	31.25
"	17	J. Morgenstern, for postage, typewriter ribbon, etc.....	20.75
"	17	Pension	41.67
"	17	Pension	25.00
Dec.	8	Pension	41.67
"	8	Pension	25.00
"	8	J. Morgenstern, for postage, etc.....	1.78
1908—			
Jan.	19	Pension	41.67
"	19	Pension	25.00
"	19	J. Morgenstern, for postage, stenographer, etc.....	4.45
Jan.	28	Williams & Co., for interest and collection.....	25.36
Feb.	9	Pension	41.67
"	9	Pension	25.00
"	9	D. Lefkowitz, for expressage, postage and typewriting....	7.05
"	9	J. Morgenstern, for foreign exchange on 31.96 roubles....	16.65
Feb.	23	S. Rosenthal & Co., for printing.....	3.50
"	23	M. Salzman, for expenses on Haggadah Committee.....	10.45
"	23	G. A. Kohut, for expenses on Haggadah Committee.....	9.40
"	23	A. Guttmacher, for expenses on Haggadah Committee....	5.00
"	23	Pension	25.00
"	23	Pension	41.67
"	23	Williams & Co., for binding.....	145.00
"	23	D. Philipson, for postage and telegram.....	2.99
March	8	Clara Stannus, for typewriting and postage.....	5.60
March	15	Z. & L. Rosenfeld, for stenographic work.....	9.20
March	20	Gibbon, Dickelman, Furst & Bourke, for renewing Treasurer's bond	20.00
"	20	Toby Rubovits, for mailing year-books.....	77.91

March	29	Toby Rubovits, for printing, addressing and expressing year-books	832.85
"	29	S. Hirshberg, for expenses on Year-book and Ministers' Handbook Committees	5.00
"	29	J. Morgenstern, for postage.....	2.15
"	29	Pension	41.66
"	29	Pension	25.00
April	2	Toby Rubovits, for postage and expessage.....	1.77
April	12	M. Salzman, for expenses of Domestic Service Committee	10.40
"	12	H. Berkowitz, for expenses of Domestic Service Committee	4.00
"	12	G. A. Kohut, for expenses of Domestic Service Committee	5.40
"	12	C. A. Rubenstein, for expenses of Domestic Service Committee	4.40
"	12	Toby Rubovits, for postage and expessage.....	3.21
"	12	Hebrew Encyclopedia Publishing Co. for 3 Vol. II.....	9.00
April	19	L. M. Franklin, for ½ of Conference subvention of "Young Israel"	250.00
"	19	Toby Rubovits, for copyright and mailing year-books....	1.53
April	26	Stettiner Bros., for printing.....	123.12
"	26	Williams & Co., for binding.....	158.75
"	26	Pension	41.67
"	26	Pension	25.00
May	4	D. Philipson, for telegrams.....	3.59
"	4	Toby Rubovits, for expessage.....	70
"	4	M. Adler, for stenographic work.....	15.00
May	19	J. Morgenstern, for postage on 9,000 tracts.....	90.00
"	19	L. H. Cahan & Co., for corrections in Haggadah.....	250.00
"	19	Murphy, Parker & Co., for binding Haggadah.....	75.00
"	19	Williams & Co., for binding.....	140.00
"	19	C. J. Krehbiel & Co., for printing.....	5.50
May	29	C. J. Krehbiel & Co., for printing.....	22.00
"	29	Toby Rubovits, for printing.....	103.88
"	29	L. Wolsey, for expenses of Social and Religious Union Committee	11.30
"	29	C. S. Levi, for postage, clerk hire, printing.....	15.00
"	29	J. Morgenstern, for postage and telegram.....	6.73
June	6	Mailing and Advertising Co., for addressing, etc.....	17.10
"	6	C. J. Krehbiel & Co., for printing.....	74.62
June	7	Wm. C. Popper & Co., for printing.....	455.00
Total			\$6,264.42

Respectfully submitted,

JULIAN MORGENSTERN,
Corresponding Secretary.

After the presentation of this report, the Chair requested that all members whose expenses were paid by their congregations notify the Corresponding Secretary thereof. It was learned that over one-half of the members in attendance had their expenses defrayed in this manner.

The report of the Recording Secretary, Rabbi David Lefkowitz, was then read, and on motion was received and ordered printed.

REPORT OF RECORDING SECRETARY.

To the President and Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis:

GENTLEMEN—The Executive Committee, elected at the last session of the Conference, met four times during the past year, July 8, 1907, at Frankfort; October 8 and 9, 1907, and January 14, 1908, at Cincinnati, and July 1, 1908, at Frankfort. The business transacted at these meetings may be summed up as follows:

The Publication Committee, newly appointed, consisting of Rabbis Joseph Stolz, Chairman; Silverman, I. S. Moses, Harris and Foster, were notified to put the plates of the Conference publications in a place of safe deposit, and that some one member of the committee hold himself responsible for them. The contract with the Bloch Publishing Company was renewed on the same terms as previously prevailed. It was decided to urge the members of the Conference to utilize an occasion during the holy season to make an appeal for additional students for the theological seminaries. Rabbis C. S. Levi, Deutsch and Enelow were appointed to work out a plan for an Annual and to investigate the feasibility of publishing it this year, and reported that it was inadvisable to undertake the work at this time.

Rabbis Gries, Schulman, Franklin and Enelow were appointed a committee to arrange, if possible, for the printing of the Revised Version of the Old Testament, so that it might be used by congregations and religious schools. At the October meeting they reported that the Oxford University Press had expressed willingness to publish the work under certain conditions. These negotiations were, however, finally dropped when our President, in conference with the Executive Committee of the Jewish Publication Society of America, was assured that that organization would immediately take up a similar work and would give proper representation to the Conference upon the Board of Editors.

The offer of the "*American Israelite*" to publish the holy day sermons, which the Conference, through its Committee on Sermonic Literature, annually publishes, was accepted, and other Jewish papers were asked to do the same.

The action of the President in sending upon the request of Rabbi Veld, chaplain of the U. S. A. navy, 150 copies of Vols. I and II of the Union

Prayer Book and 150 copies of the Union Hymnal for use in the United States navy, was approved, and the President was authorized to act upon similar requests according to his own discretion. It was ordered that 100 copies of the Sabbath Eve and Morning Service of the Union Prayer Book be donated to the Hawthorne Protectory, and that the Corresponding Secretary should keep a record of all such donations.

It was decided that the arguments of the Round Table discussions be not published in the Year Book and that the discussions be only mentioned by title. It was ordered that no more copies of the Union Hymnal be printed until the revised edition be ready for publication, and also that no committees, unless specially authorized, shall contract for the expenditure of the Conference moneys.

The summary of the work of the Conference during the year 1906-1907, prepared by the President, was ordered printed and sent to congregations belonging to the Union of American Congregations, and to all other congregations ministered to by members of the Conference.

The standing committees appointed by the President were approved.

The publication of a tract for the year 1907-1908, which the Conference ordered, was emphasized, and the Executive Committee suggested to the Committee on Tracts and Sermonic Literature that the first tract be upon the subject, "What Do Jews Believe?" to be prepared by Rabbi Enelow. The work of the Committee on Tracts and Sermonic Literature was apportioned to two separate committees, the old committee constituting the Committee on Sermonic Literature. The President was authorized to appoint another Committee on Tracts, of which the President and Vice-President were to be members, the President acting as Chairman.

The committee appointed to secure a suitable place for the meeting of the Conference of 1908 reported that the management of the Ann Arbor Railroad and of the hotel at Frankfort was desirous of doing all that the committee asked. It was therefore decided to meet at Frankfort, Mich., July 1-8, 1908.

The Publication Committee was authorized to publish an edition of 2,000 copies of the Union Hymnal, bids for the work to be requested not only from Popper, the original publisher, but also from other printers.

The Committee on Union Haggadah was authorized to publish another edition of 2,500 copies of the Haggadah.

The President was authorized to accede to the request of the chaplain of the New York Reformatory for copies of the week-day service as soon as notified of the exact number needed.

The President presented the correspondence between himself and the American Jewish Committee and Dr. Margulies, of Florence, Italy, concerning plans for the re-Judaization of the Falashas, all of which was approved, the matter of a subvention to the cause, and co-operation in the plans being left to the decision of the Conference.

The following applications for membership were favorably acted upon:

Professors Buttenwieser and Neumark, Rabbis Eli Mayer, G. George Fox, Joel Blau, Herman Rosenwasser, Alter Abelson.

In celebration of the five hundredth anniversary of the publication of the "Or Adonoi," Dr. Neumark was requested to present at the Conference meeting his paper on "Crescas and Spinoza." It was ordered that Kahana's Commentaries be presented to the H. U. C. library.

The President reported that under the authorization given at the Indianapolis Conference he had ordered that \$250.00 be sent to "Young Israel," and his action was confirmed by the board. Respectfully submitted,

DAVID LEFKOWITZ,
Recording Secretary.

The annual report of the Treasurer, Rabbi Charles S. Levi, was then read, and in connection therewith the books and vouchers from the Peoria Commercial Bank, where the amount is kept, were presented to the Conference, and on motion were received and referred to an auditing committee.

ANNUAL REPORT OF TREASURER.

July 1, 1907, to July 1, 1908.

To the Honorables, President, Officers and Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

BRETHREN: I beg to present to your historic Conference this annual report of your Treasurer for the year concluding July 1, 1908, and trust the same will receive your earnest consideration. I suppose it is in place to say that the Conference weathered the financial stringency of the past year most heroically, due to the fact that there were no large bills to pay during the most acute period when rain-bow money encircled the horizon of the financial skies. Yet I am sorry to say that judging from the amount of unpaid dues, our members must have been largely affected. Our receipts from dues, interests and book-sales, including a donation to the Ministers' Fund from the Plum Street Temple of Cincinnati, the first congregation in America to make such a donation, were \$7,263.35; our expenditures for all purposes \$6,264.42, making an addition to our treasury of \$998.93, and raising our total funds from \$17,562.55 to \$18,561.48. Our income from sale of publications was \$5,399.65, the expenditures for new editions and new publications \$3,115.16, showing a balance in our book-profits of \$2,284.49. The amount of the Ministers' Fund now aggregates \$14,656.15, being an increase of \$1,702.58 since July 1, 1907; that of the General Fund is \$3,905.33, being a decrease of \$703.65, which means we are spending more than our income with no possible chance of being benefited by the New United States Emergency Currency Bill. A word to the wise is golden. All vouchers drawn and bills presented up to June 20, 1908, have been paid.

Dues and Members.

July 1, 1907.	Total Membership	201	
	Died during year.....	4	
	Elected since last Conference.....	8	
	Suspended during year.....	3	
	Exempt from paying dues.....	4	
July 1, 1908.	Total Membership.....	202	
	Number taxed with dues.....	198	
	Dues paid by 136 members.....		\$950.00
	96 Members owing dues.....		730.00
	Members paid up to date.....	102	
	Members owing \$5.00.....	60	
	Members, liable to suspension, owing from \$10 to \$20.....	36	

Due bills have been sent out twice during the year to those owing \$5.00, thrice to those owing \$10.00, and four times to those in arrears for \$15.00 and more. Result, \$730.00 still outstanding.

The following detailed summary of all accounts will show accurately all receipts and expenditures for fiscal year ending July, 1908:

Receipts.

July 1, 1907, to July 1, 1908, dues.....	\$ 950.00	\$ 950.00
Nov. 21, 1907, Int. on \$ 1,980, June 17-Nov. 21 at 3%....	25.41	
Nov. 21, 1907, Int. on 2,500, June 27-Nov. 22 at 3%....	30.21	
Jan. 6, 1908, Int. on 12,000, 6 mos. at 6%.....	360.00	
June 22, 1908, Int. on 980, 5 mos. 6 days at 3%.....	12.74	
June 22, 1908, Int. on 3,500, 7 mos. 1 day at 3%.....	61.54	
June 22, 1908, Int. on 1,200, 4 mos. 18 days at 3%.....	13.80	
June 23, 1908, Int. on 12,000, 6 mos. at 6%.....	360.00	\$ 863.70

From Sales of Publications.

Aug. 29, 1907, Bloch Publishing Co.....	\$ 350.00	
Sept. 28, 1907, Bloch Publishing Co.....	200.00	
Sept. 2, 1907, Bloch Publishing Co.....	250.00	
Oct. 30, 1907, Bloch Publishing Co.....	750.00	
Dec. 2, 1907, Bloch Publishing Co.....	750.00	
Jan. 6, 1908, Bloch Publishing Co.....	600.00	
Jan. 28, 1908, Bloch Publishing Co.....	600.00	
Feb. 25, 1908, Bloch Publishing Co.....	500.00	
Mch. 23, 1908, Bloch Publishing Co.....	400.00	
May 6, 1908, Bloch Publishing Co.....	300.00	
May 21, 1908, Bloch Publishing Co.....	300.00	
June 3, 1908, Bloch Publishing Co.....	399.65	5,399.65

From Donation.

Feb. 11, 1908, Plum Street Temple.....	\$ 50.00	50.00
Total Receipts		\$ 7,263.35

EXPENDITURES.

On Account of Publications.

Sept. 13, 1907, Leon Brummer taking stock.....	\$ 15.00	
Oct. 30, 1907, Williams and Co., binding 4,650 Vol. I and Vol. II.....	1,560.00	
Feb. 17, 1908, Williams & Co., interest and exchange.....	25.36	
Mch. 18, 1908, Williams & Co., binding 600 Vol. I and Vol. II.....	145.00	
Mch. 18, 1908, Haggadah Committee Expenses.....	24.85	
May 7, 1908, Domestic Service Com. Expenses.....	24.20	
May 7, 1908, Stettiner Bros., printing 2,000 Daily Serv- ices and Sunday Services.....	123.12	
May 7, 1908, Williams & Co., binding 1,931 small prayer books, revising 48 sheets.....	158.75	
May 7, 1908, Milton Adler, stenographic work for Scrip- ture Committee.....	15.00	
May 19, 1908, L. H. Cahan & Co., 2,500 Haggadahs.....	250.00	
May 19, 1908, Murphy-Parker & Co., binding 1,000 Haggadahs	75.00	
May 19, 1908, Williams & Co., binding 1,000 Vol. I.....	140.00	
June 9, 1908, T. Rubovits, printing 250 Ministers' Hand- book and postage.....	103.88	
June 9, 1908, Wm. C. Popper & Co., 2,000 Hymnals.....	455.00	\$ 3,115.16

General Expenses.

July 15, 1907, M. J. Gries, expenses Frankfort.....	\$ 27.42	
Sept. 13, 1907, Toby Rubovits, printing and mailing reports	140.66	
Sept. 13, 1907, Fannie Rauh, stenographic work.....	10.00	
Sept. 13, 1907, H. P. Soden, typing.....	3.00	
Sept. 13, 1907, McClurg & Co., 6 doz. pads.....	.60	
Sept. 13, 1907, Press Clipping Bureau.....	1.00	
Sept. 13, 1907, Chicago Addressing Co., 2,364 envelopes....	11.82	
Sept. 13, 1907, David Philipson, expenses.....	1.80	
Sept. 13, 1907, Dr. J. Theodor, subvention books.....	25.00	
Sept. 13, 1907, Central Safe Deposit Co., rental.....	5.00	
Sept. 13, 1907, T. Shanfarber, postage, clerk and express..	2.43	
Sept. 13, 1907, Leland B. Case, Stenog. Conf. reports.....	100.00	
Sept. 13, 1907, J. Morgenstern, postage, express, stationery.	1.98	
Sept. 13, 1907, Rosenthal & Co., printing stationery.....	20.00	

Oct. 16, 1907, Central Safe Deposit Co., rental.....	1.75
Oct. 16, 1907, Rosenthal & Co., printing 1,000 cards and book lists, 250 circulars.....	7.50
Oct. 16, 1907, 20th Cent. Press clippings.....	1.00
Oct. 16, 1907, J. Morgenstern, postage, express.....	6.16
Oct. 16, 1907, L. M. Franklin, expense Lyceum Bureau...	43.00
Oct. 30, 1907, Wm. Friedman, expenses to Cincinnati.....	89.00
Oct. 30, 1907, A. Simon, expenses to Cincinnati.....	28.00
Oct. 30, 1907, Executive Board, expenses in Cincinnati...	34.35
Oct. 30, 1907, C. S. Levi, expenses to Cincinnati, postage, printing	41.50
Oct. 30, 1907, S. Hirshberg, expenses to Cincinnati.....	25.00
Oct. 30, 1907, T. Rubovits, printing and postage, 450 re- ports	62.10
Oct. 30, 1907, S. Rosenthal & Co., 1,000 envelopes.....	3.25
Oct. 30, 1907, J. Morgenstern, postage, expressage.....	2.09
Oct. 30, 1907, M. Newfield, expenses to Cincinnati.....	34.00
Oct. 30, 1907, M. J. Gries, expenses to Cincinnati.....	20.00
Oct. 30, 1907, M. Heller, expenses to Cincinnati.....	24.75
Oct. 30, 1907, J. Morgenstern, postage.....	7.11
Oct. 30, 1907, The American Press, 500 notices.....	1.50
Nov. 6, 1907, I. L. Rypins, expenses to Cincinnati.....	40.00
Nov. 21, 1907, Rosenthal & Co., 5,250 circulars, 400 letters.	31.25
Nov. 21, 1908, J. Morgenstern, postage, ribbon, express...	20.75
Jan. 2, 1908, J. Morgenstern, postage, etc.....	1.78
Jan. 28, 1908, J. Morgenstern, postage, stenog., etc.....	4.45
Feb. 17, 1908, D. Lefkowitz, exp., typ., postg.....	7.05
Feb. 17, 1908, J. Morgenstern for Cahana Subvention...	16.65
Mch. 18, 1908, Rosenthal & Co., 1,000 cards.....	3.50
Mch. 18, 1908, D. Philipson, postage, telegrams.....	2.99
Mch. 18, 1908, Clara Stannus, typewriting, postage.....	5.60
April 9, 1908, Z. & L. Rosenfeld, stenographer for Pub- lishing Committee.....	9.20
April 9, 1908, Gibbon Dickelman & Co., for Surety Bond..	20.00
April 9, 1908, T. Rubovits, postage, 809 year-books.....	77.91
April 9, 1908, T. Rubovits, printing 1,000 year-books, ad- dresses, wrappers, reprints.....	832.85
April 9, 1908, S. Hirshberg, expenses to Chicago.....	5.00
April 9, 1908, J. Morgenstern, postage.....	2.15
April 9, 1908, T. Rubovits, postage, express, year-books...	1.77
May 7, 1908, T. Rubovits, postage, express, year-books...	3.21
May 7, 1908, Hebrew Ency. Co. 3 Vol. II.....	9.00
May 7, 1908, L. M. Franklin for "Young Israel".....	250.00
May 7, 1908, T. Rubovits, copyright post.....	1.53

May 7, 1908, D. Philipson, telegrams.....	3.59	
May 7, 1908, T. Rubovits, expressage, year-books.....	.70	
May 19, 1908, J. Morgenstern, postage for 9,000 tracts....	90.00	
May 19, 1908, C. J. Krehbiel, printing 200 letters, 500 hds.	5.50	
June 9, 1908, C. J. Krehbiel, 10,000 envelopes.....	22.00	
June 9, 1908, Louis Wolsey, expenses.....	11.30	
June 9, 1908, C. S. Levi, postage, printing, exp.....	15.00	
June 9, 1908, J. Morgenstern, postage and telegrams.....	6.73	
June 9, 1908, Mailing and Adv. Co., 9,000 envelopes.....	17.10	
June 9, 1908, C. J. Krehbiel, printing 10,300 tracts, 200 letters	74.62	\$ 2,375.95

Dues Returned.

Sept. 13, 1907, N. Heller	\$ 5.00	\$ 5.00
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Ministers' Allowances.

July, 1907, to July, 1908.....	\$ 768.31	\$ 768.31
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Total Expenditures	\$ 6,264.42
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SUMMARY OF FUNDS.

July 1, 1907, Total funds in treasury.....	\$17,562.55
July 1, 1907, to July 1, 1908, total receipts.....	7,263.35
July 1, 1907, to July 1, 1908, total expenditures.....	6,264.42
July 1, 1908, net increase of funds.....	998.93
July 1, 1908, total funds.....	18,561.48

GENERAL FUND.

To this fund belongs one-half of the receipts from dues, net profits of publications and interests of moneys not belonging to Ministers' Fund.

Receipts.

July 1, 1907, balance in fund.....	\$ 4,608.98
July 1, 1908, membership dues.....	\$ 472.50
July 1, 1908, interest	57.55
July 1, 1908, one-half net proceeds of publications.....	1,142.25
	\$ 1,672.30

Expenditures.

July 1, 1907 to July 1, 1908, general expenses.....	\$ 2,375.95
July 1, 1908, decrease of fund.....	703.65
July 1, 1908, amount of fund.....	\$ 3,905.33

INDIGENT MINISTERS' RELIEF FUND.

To this fund belongs one-half of the receipts from dues, interest of general fund and net proceeds of publications, besides the entire interest of the investment of the Fund.

Receipts.

July 1, 1907, amount of fund.....		\$12,953.57
July 1, 1908, dues of members.....	\$ 472.50	
July 1, 1908, interests	806.15	
Feb. 11, 1908, donation Plum Street Temple.....	50.00	
July 1, 1908, one-half net proceeds of publications.....	1,142.24	2,470.89
		<hr/>
		\$15,424.40

Expenditures.

July 1, 1907, to July 1, 1908, pensions	\$ 768.31	\$ 768.31
July 1, 1908, increase of fund.....	1,702.58	
July 1, 1908, balance in fund.....		14,656.15
July 1, 1908, general and ministers' funds.....		18,561.48

INVESTMENTS.

July 1, 1908, Building Bonds at 6%.....	\$12,000.00
June 22, 1908, Certificate of Deposit at 3%.....	2,500.00
June 22, 1908, Certificate of Deposit at 3%.....	1,980.00
June 22, 1908, Certificate of Deposit at 3%.....	1,200.00
July 1, 1908, Balance in Commercial-German Bank.....	881.48

Total moneys	\$18,561.48
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I present in connection with this annual report the books, vouchers, receipts and papers held in trust, also a certified statement of the Commercial-German National Bank of Peoria, where our banking is done, without cost to the Conference.

In conclusion let me extend my heartfelt appreciation to the Conference for the position of confidence and trust with which you have honored your Treasurer these nine years.

With best wishes for the continued financial progress of our institution, I remain,

Most respectfully yours,

CHARLES S. LEVI,
Treasurer.

The report of the Publication Committee was then read, and on motion was received and referred to a special auditing committee, instructed to report also upon the recommendations contained in the report.

REPORT OF PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

FRANKFORT, JULY 2, 1908.

The Publication Committee, entrusted with the publishing of the Union Prayer Book and the Union Hymnal, and with the handling of all the publications of the C. C. A. R., begs leave to report as follows for the twelve months beginning June 1, 1907, and ending May 31, 1908.

It is a gratification and pleasure to report that the Union Prayer Book is maintaining its reputation as the most popular Jewish book ever published in America. The tenth edition is almost exhausted; 8,680 copies were sold this year, a total in fourteen years of 92,099. Twelve new congregations adopted the ritual since our last report, so that it is now used in two hundred and sixty-one congregations, besides a goodly number of public institutions.* Our Conference may well rejoice in this work of promoting the solidarity of American Israel and of unifying the hopes, aspirations and beliefs of the American Jews.

We delivered to the Bloch Publishing Company books to the value of \$7,162.18, viz.:

Volume I.—Cloth, 2,866; leather, 501; morocco, 150; extra morocco, 330; unbound, 250. Total, 4,097.

Volume II.—Cloth, 1,992; leather, 503; morocco, 88; extra morocco, 62; unbound, 150. Total, 2,795.

Sabbath Eve and Morning Services, 1,000; Week-day Services, 931; Haggadahs cloth, 985; Union Hymnals, 2,627; Year Book XVII, 68.

We expended this year for printing and binding the sum of \$2,078.75.

Our sales amounted to \$6,525.41, which is \$225.11 more than last year, having disposed of the following books:

Volume I.—Cloth, 2,258; leather, 634; morocco, 47; extra morocco, 287. Total, 3,226.

Volume II.—Cloth, 1,874; leather, 432; morocco, 37; extra morocco, 111. Total, 2,454.

Unbound, 400; Sabbath Eve and Morning Services, 2,600.

We completely exhausted our stock of Union Hymnals and were obliged to publish a new edition of 2,000 volumes, at a cost of \$455.00.

We sold 1,147 copies of the Haggadah, making a total in two years of 3,885 copies.

The remittances this year amounted to \$5,699.65, which is \$429.16 less than the preceding year.

In this connection we would call your attention to the fact that, be-

sides distributing gratuitously nearly 1,000 copies of the last Year Book and 9,450 copies of Tract I, the Conference has this year sent out, free of charge, 561 copies of the Year Books of former years; 317 copies of Sermons; 78 Margolis' Aspects; 48 Synods; numerous reprints, and also many copies of the Prayer Books to the Emanuel Brotherhood, summer resorts, and various penal, corrective and charitable institutions.

We have on hand, in addition to the stock inventory (Exhibit B) and the unbound copies at the bindery (Vol. I, 800; Vol. II, 500), the following reprints:

- 0 Index of Year Books.
- 0 Set of Holiday Sermons.
- 0 Rashi.
- 425 The Sabbath Commission.
- 350 Assyriology in the Bible.
- 0 Report on Relation between Rabbi and Congregation.
- 10 Funeral Agenda.
- 58 Gabriel Riesser.
- 175 Samuel Holdheim.
- 150 Deutsch, "A Plan for Cooperative Work," etc.
- 900 Supplementary Explanations.
- 120 Raisin, "Reform Movement."
- 1350 Bible in Public Schools.
- 850 Tract I.
- 200 Origin and Functions of Ceremonies in Judaism.
- 150 Moses Hayyim Luzzatto.
- 200 To the Communal Leader.
- 100 Members of C. C. A. R.

Inasmuch as these reprints, as well as the Year Books, are intended for missionary purposes, and really have no selling value, we would recommend that hereafter, exclusive of the sermon book, they be inventoried as having no cash value, and be distributed subject to the order of the President or the Chairman of this committee.

And we further recommend the renewal of our contract, upon the same terms, and for one year, with the Bloch Publishing Company, who have given us prompt and faithful service, and with whom our dealings have been uniformly satisfactory.

The printing of an eleventh edition of 5,000 copies, respectively, of Volumes I and II of the Union Prayer Book and of the Sabbath Morning and Evening Service, and the binding of as many copies as may be required during the coming year, subject to the approval of the Executive Board.

The plates for the Union Prayer Book, Union Hymnal, Haggadah, Tract, and Shall the Bible Be Taught in the Public Schools, being deposited in a safety vault in New York City, we recommend that the Pub-

lication Committee have charge of all republications, subject to the order of the Executive Board.

When we bound the first edition of the Prayer Book we had no criterion by which to judge the comparative sale of the respective bindings, and we still have on hand 400 copies of the first edition of Volume II, morocco bound. For the reason that these books have wider margins than our present bindings we have again this year not disposed of a single copy. We therefore concur once more in the recommendation of our agents, that we endeavor to dispose of these books, which we have carried in stock fourteen years, by reducing the price from \$2.00 per volume to \$1.50, which is still above the cost price.

We subjoin the reports of the Bloch Publishing Company, our distributing agents, and of the expert accountant.

Respectfully submitted,

JOSEPH STOLZ,

S. FOSTER,

M. H. HARRIS,

I. S. MOSES,

J. SILVERMAN,

Committee.

NEW YORK, JUNE 4, 1908.

Dr. Joseph Stolz, Chairman Publication Committee, C. C. A. R.

DEAR SIR:—We submit herewith our annual statement of account with your honored body. The report follows the previous style, and we hope you will find it comprehensive and satisfactory.

Notwithstanding a large falling off in the sale of the Haggadah, the total sales exceed those of last year. The sale of the Haggadah was confined largely to congregations and schools ordering in moderate quantities, not a single order exceeding 75 copies. Although we sent out over 5,000 circulars advertising the book, the results were very meager.

We would again call attention to the large stock of Part II, morocco bound Prayer Books (over 400 copies), which are practically unsalable. The books are of an early edition, and are not uniform in size and binding with the later editions. They have been so long in stock that they are becoming shopworn, and some special effort ought to be made to dispose of them. As suggested last year, we believe they can be sold if the price is reduced from \$2.00 to \$1.50, thus enabling us to sell the book as an ordinary leather-bound book, for which we have frequent calls. So long as it is priced at \$2.00 it can not be moved, as the smallest number of orders are for the morocco-bound books.

There are still on hand large numbers of the Year Books, Sermons and the Margolis Reprint. Hardly a single copy of these publications was sold for cash during the past year; the numbers shown on the sales-sheet

(Exhibit C) were sent out gratis, on orders from the Executive Committee. We respectfully request that the Year Books, unsold Sermons and Reprints, be taken from the list of books charged to us, and that they be entered as books without selling value. It is hardly fair to us that we should be held responsible for books of this kind, which are only given away, and not sold.

We send them out cheerfully whenever requested to do so, and charge only the actual expense of mailing or expressing.

We would also suggest that a better system be devised by which we can be supplied with books at short notice. It occasionally happens that a large order will deplete the stock, and there should be some arrangement by which this can be replenished without loss of time. If your committee would keep us informed as to the number of sheets of the various books which are carried by the binder, we could better advise you when to bind or print a fresh supply. We seldom know what the binder has on hand, and this is bound to cause delay in filling orders.

We hope that our services during the past year have been found satisfactory, and that they merit a renewal of our existing contract. We would ask, however, that this be extended for at least two years, if possible, and trust your committee will see its way clear to do this. We would again acknowledge the uniform courtesy extended to us by your Committee and the Executive Committee, and with sincere thanks for this kindness and good will, we are,

Very truly yours,

BLOCH PUBLISHING CO.,

CHAS. E. BLOCH, *Prop.*

EXHIBIT A.

BOOKS RECEIVED JUNE 1, 1907-MAY 31, 1908.

1907.

June 14—	20 Union Prayer Books, I, extra mor.....	\$1.75	\$ 35.00
June 14—	12 Union Prayer Books, I, morocco.....	1.40	16.80
June 14—	12 Union Prayer Books, II, morocco.....	1.40	16.80
June 17—	180 Union Prayer Books, I, extra mor.....	1.75	315.00
June 17—	138 Union Prayer Books, I, morocco.....	1.40	193.20
June 17—	88 Union Prayer Books, II, morocco.....	1.40	123.20
July 2—	130 Year Books, paper.....	.35	45.50
July 2—	6 Year Books, cloth.....	.70	4.20
Aug. 5—	500 Union Prayer Books, I, cloth.....	.70	350.00
Aug. 5—	500 Union Prayer Books, II, cloth.....	.70	350.00
Aug. 9—	200 Union Prayer Books, I, leather.....	1.05	210.00
Aug. 9—	200 Union Prayer Books, II, leather.....	1.05	210.00

Aug. 28—	1 lot of books returned from Conference at Frankfort		\$ 39.62
Aug. 29—	324 Union Prayer Books, I, cloth. . . . .	.70	226.80
Aug. 29—	400 Union Prayer Books, II, cloth. . . . .	.70	280.00
Aug. 29—	157 Union Prayer Books, I, leather.	1.05	164.85
Aug. 29—	160 Union Prayer Books, II, leather.	1.05	168.00
Sept. 5—	400 Union Prayer Books, II, cloth. . . . .	.70	280.00
Sept. 13—	400 Union Prayer Books, II, cloth. . . . .	.70	280.00
Sept. 27—	50 sets Union Prayer Book, unbound.		54.00
Oct. 1—	1 lot of books returned from Hebrew Orphan Asylum, Brooklyn		18.20
Oct. 21—	540 Union Prayer Books, I, cloth. . . . .	.70	378.00
Dec. 26—	292 Union Prayer Books, II, cloth. . . . .	.70	204.40
Dec. 26—	144 Union Prayer Books, I, leather.	1.05	151.20
Dec. 26—	143 Union Prayer Books, II, leather.	1.05	150.15
1908.			
Jan. 30—	100 Union Prayer Books, I, extra mor.	1.75	175.00
Feb. 3—	150 Part I and 100 Part II, Union Prayer Books, unbound		140.62
Mar. 14—	502 Union Prayer Books, I, cloth. . . . .	.70	351.40
Mar. 20—	110 Week Day Service. . . . .	.175	19.25
Mar. 27—	821 Week Day Service. . . . .	.175	143.68
Mar. 27—	500 Sabbath Evening and Morning Service. . . . .	.175	87.50
Mar. 30—	500 Sabbath Evening and Morning Service. . . . .	.175	87.50
Apr. 6—	985 Union Haggadahs, cloth. . . . .	.175	172.38
Apr. 9—	443 Union Hymnals. . . . .	.30	132.90
Apr. 13—	225 Union Hymnals. . . . .	.30	67.50
Apr. 13—	50 Part I, Union Prayer Books, unbound.		28.13
Apr. 17—	900 Union Hymnals. . . . .	.30	270.00
Apr. 20—	250 Union Hymnals. . . . .	.30	75.00
Apr. 22—	650 Union Hymnals. . . . .	.30	195.00
Apr. 24—	145 Union Hymnals. . . . .	.30	43.50
Apr. 29—	14 Union Hymnals. . . . .	.30	4.20
May 6—	1000 Union Prayer Books, I, cloth. . . . .	.70	700.00
May 25—	14 Year Books, cloth. . . . .	.70	9.80
May 25—	54 Year Books, paper. . . . .	.35	18.90
May 28—	50 Union Prayer Books, I, extra mor.	1.75	87.50
May 28—	50 Union Prayer Books, II, extra mor.	1.75	87.50
Total			\$7,162.18
Stock on hand May 30, 1907 (see page 57 of Year Book, 1907).			4,398.51
Grand total			\$11,560.69

EXHIBIT B.

STOCK INVENTORY, MAY 30, 1908.

972 Union Prayer Book, I, cloth.....	\$.70	\$680.40
76 Union Prayer Book, I, leather.....	1.05	79.80
117 Union Prayer Book, I, morocco.....	1.40	163.80
81 Union Prayer Book, I, extra morocco.....	1.75	141.75
552 Union Prayer Book, II, cloth.....	.70	386.40
245 Union Prayer Book, II, leather.....	1.05	257.25
493 Union Prayer Book, II, morocco.....	1.40	690.20
149 Union Prayer Book, II, extra morocco.....	1.75	260.75
961 Week Day Service.....	.175	168.18
2,122 Union Hymnal .....	.30	676.60
1,155 Union Haggadah, cloth.....	.175	202.13
390 Union Haggadah, cloth gilt.....	.35	136.50
200 Union Haggadah, limp leather.....	.70	140.00
263 Year Book, cloth.....	.70	184.10
1,464 Year Book, paper.....	.35	512.40
33 Views on the Synod.....	.35	11.55
414 Margolis' Reprint .....	.35	144.90
604 Sermons, paper .....	.25	151.00
35 Sermons, cloth .....	.85	29.75
Total		\$4,977.46

EXHIBIT C.

SALES FROM JUNE 1, 1907-MAY 30, 1908.

2,258 Union Prayer Books, I, cloth.....	\$.70	\$1,580.60
634 Union Prayer Books, I, leather.....	1.05	585.90
47 Union Prayer Books, I, morocco.....	1.40	65.80
287 Union Prayer Books, I, extra morocco.....	1.75	502.25
1,874 Union Prayer Books, II, cloth.....	.70	1,311.80
432 Union Prayer Books, II, leather.....	1.05	453.60
37 Union Prayer Books, II, morocco.....	1.40	51.80
111 Union Prayer Books, II, extra morocco.....	1.75	194.25
2,600 Sabbath Evening and Morning Service.....	.175	455.00
429 Week Day Service .....	.175	75.08
1,618 Union Hymnal .....	.30	485.40
1,115 Union Haggadah, cloth.....	.175	195.13
23 Union Haggadah, cloth gilt.....	.35	8.05
9 Union Haggadah, limp leather.....	.70	6.30

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS.

45

12 Year Book, cloth.....	\$.70	\$ 8.40
549 Year Book, paper .....	.35	192.15
48 Views on Synod.....	.35	16.80
78 Margolis' Aspects .....	.35	27.30
304 Sermons, paper .....	.25	76.00
13 Sermons, cloth .....	.85	11.05
Total		\$6,302.66
400 volumes Union Prayer Book, unbound.....		222.75
Grand total		\$6,525.41

EXHIBIT D.

MONTHLY SALES.

1907—June	\$257.20
July	210.00
August	1,575.30
September	1,234.35
October	585.70
November	446.25
December	258.00
1908—January	186.00
February	293.61
March	453.90
April	480.18
May	494.92
Total	\$ 6,525.41
Balance due from June 1, 1907	668.80
Grand total	\$ 7,194.21

REMITTANCES.

June 20, 1907.....	\$300.00
August 24, 1907.....	350.00
September 12, 1907.....	250.00
September 28, 1907.....	200.00
October 28, 1907	750.00
November 23, 1907	750.00
December 21, 1907	600.00
January 25, 1908	600.00

February 19, 1908.....	\$500.00
March 20, 1908	400.00
April 25, 1908	300.00
May 20, 1908	300.00
June 1, 1908	399.65
Total	\$ 5,699.65
Charged to Conference (see Exhibit F)	577.28
Grand total	\$ 6,276.93

EXHIBIT E.

SUMMARY.

Balance due Conference June 1, 1907.....	\$ 668.89
Value of books received, etc. (see Exhibit A)	11,560.69
	<hr/> \$12,229.49
Stock on hand (Exhibit B)	4,977.46
Cash remittances (Exhibit D)	5,699.65
Charged to Conference (Exhibit F)	577.28
Total	<hr/> \$11,254.39
Balance due	\$975.10

This balance represents the sales of April and May, which will be remitted in June and July.

EXHIBIT F.

BOOKS, ETC., CHARGED TO THE CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS.

The following items consist of books sent out on orders from the Conference. Everything is charged back to the Conference at the actual cost. 1907.

June 3, To Dr. Wm. Rosenau: 12 Sab. Serv., \$2.10; express, 20c.	\$2.30
June 11, Allowance on 104 U. P. Bks. at 15c. (for Jewish Orphan Asylum, Cleveland)	15.60
June 25, To Rev. J. Klein, Sumter: 1 Sab. Serv., 17c.; 1 Week Day Serv., 18c.; 1 Union Hymn., 30c.; 1 Sermons, 85c.; express, 30c.	1.80
June 26, To the Conference at Frankfort, Mich.: 100 Sab. Serv., \$17.50; 100 Union Hymn., \$30.00; express, \$5.75.....	53.25

July 2,	Freight on Year Bks. from Baltimore.....	\$ 5.37
July 2,	Expressage on Programs to Frankfort.....	1.43
July 2,	Telegram to Frankfort	1.00
July 2,	Postage and expr. on 100 "Bible in Public School"....	1.30
July 16,	To Dr. Silverman: 50 Sab. Serv., \$8.75; expr. 85c.....	9.60
July 19,	To Rev. Eichler, Boston: 13 Yr. Bks., \$4.55; expr. 45c...	5.00
July 19,	To Mrs. Frank, Boston: 1 Yr. Bk.; expr. 10c.....	.45
July 19,	To Review, Phila.: 1 Yr. Bk. and expr. ....	.45
July 24,	To Dr. Silverman, White Mts.: 3 Union Hymn., 90c.; p. 25c.	1.15
July 18,	To Heb. Un. Col. Libry.: 1 Relig. Freedom, 90c.; 1 Roger Williams, \$1.00; 1 Relig. Liberty, 75c.; 1 Moral In- struction, \$1.13; 1 Moral Education, \$1.44; expr. 44c.	5.66
July 18,	To Dr. Wm. S. Friedman: 1 Relig. Freedom, 90c.; 1 Relig. Liberty, 75c.; Roger Williams, \$1.00; Moral Instruction, \$1.13; Moral Education, \$1.44; Bible in P. S., \$2.25; expr. 65c.	8.12
Aug. 20,	To Rev. H. Veld: 50 Week Day Serv., \$8.75; expr. 25c. .	9.00
Aug. 21,	To Rev. M. J. Gries: 52 Year Books.....	18.20
Aug. 31,	To various individuals, per Dr. Morgenstern: 21 Sermons, \$5.25; postage, \$2.10.....	7.35
Aug. 31,	To Dr. I. S. Moses: 1 Sermons, cloth.....	.85
Aug. 31,	Postage on 40 "Bible in Public Schools" to various indi- viduals . ....	.80
Aug. 31,	To Dr. Enelow: 1 Songs, Prayers and Psalms.....	.90
Aug. 31,	To Rev. Ettelson and student, J. T. Sem.: 2 Sermons..	.50
Aug. 31,	Freight and drayage on books returned from Frankfort..	1.75
Aug. 24,	To Navv Yard, Brooklyn (H. Veld): 25 sets U. P. Bks., \$35.00; 25 Union Hymnals, \$7.50; expr. 30c.	42.80
Aug. 24,	To K. Barnet, Columbus, O.: 1 Sermons, 25c.; 1 set U. P. Bks., \$1.40; expr. 30c.	1.95
Sept. 10,	To Jew. Hospital, Brooklyn: 10 U. P. Bks., \$7.00; 1 U. P. Bk., \$1.05; 5 U. P. Bks., \$7.00; 2 U. P. Bks., \$3.50; expr. 40c.	18.95
Oct. 11,	To Ward's Isl. Insane Asylum: 24 Sab. Serv.....	4.20
Nov. 14,	To Jewish Protectory: 100 Sab. Service.....	17.50
Dec. 28,	To Dr. N. Stern, Trenton: 50 U. P. Bks. I. \$35.00; ex. 60c.	35.60
Dec. 31,	To various people, as per order of Dr. Morgenstern: 341 Yr. Bks., \$119.35; 3 Yr. Bks., \$2.10; 48 Sermons, \$12.00; 41 Synod, \$14.35; 48 Theology, \$16.80; post- age and express, \$5.90.....	170.50
1908.		
Feb. 15,	To Miss Schottenfels: 3 Yr. Bks., \$1.40; expr. 15c.....	1.55
Feb. 15,	To Preston, Anniston: 1 Sermons, 85c.; post. 16c.....	1.01

Feb. 19, To G. E. Kurtz, Boston: 11 Yr. Bks.....	\$ 4.20
Feb. 20, To Dr. Blum: 1 U. P. Bk. ....	.70
Feb. 28, Expr. on 150 "Bible in P. S." to Rabbi Blatt.....	1.25
Feb. 8, To J. Singer, Cin'ti: 10 Yr. Bks. (1 cloth).....	4.55
Feb. 8, To J. Schwarz, Cin'ti: 10 Yr. Bks. (1 cloth).....	4.55
Feb. 8, To A. Lueas, N. Y.: 11 Yr. Bks.	4.55
Feb. 8, To I. Brill, N. Y.: 11 Yr. Bks.	4.55
Mar. 21, Rebate on 25 U. P. Bks. I, to Guskey Orphanage.....	2.50
Apr. 10, Case and expr. on Haggadahs from Dr. Berkowitz.....	1.20
Apr. 7, To Otto Millard, Chicago: 4 Yr. Bks. (1 cloth), \$1.75; 1 Sermon, 25e.; 1 Synod, 35e.; 1 Aspects, 35c.....	2.70
Apr. 11, Expr. on Haggadahs from Parker, Phila.	1.49
Apr. 11, To Prof. Neumark, Cin'ti: 11 Yr. Bks. (1 cloth), \$4.20; 1 Sermons, 25e.; 1 Synod, 35e.; 1 Aspects, 35c.....	5.15
Apr. 11, To G. E. Steehert, N. Y.: 1 Year Book.....	.70
Apr. 13, N. Y. Reformatory: 1 Week Day Serv., 18c.; 25 Haggadahs, \$4.37; expr. 20e.	4.75
Apr. 20, Charges on defective U. P. Bk. to Livingston, Bloomington, Ill. ....	.35
Apr. 23, To Dr. Blum: 3 Even. and Morn. Service.....	.53
Apr. 25, To Mrs. J. Weisenfeld, Baltimore: 50 U. P. Bks. I.....	35.00
May 2, To Conference Members: Postage, envelopes, and addressing 195 Morning Service	7.80
May 4, To Union Theol. Sem.: 5 Yr. Bks. and del.	1.85
May 4, To A. L. Weinstein: 1 Sermons .....	.25
May 4, To Jacob Wallach: 1 Sermons .....	.25
May 4, To Theo. J. Levy: 1 Sermons .....	.25
May 12, To Lipman Levy: 12 Week Day Serv., \$2.10; 12 Sab. Serv., \$2.10	4.20
May 23, To J. P. Solomon, Heb. Standard: 12 Yr. Bks. (1 cloth), \$4.55; 1 Sermons, 25e.; 1 Synod, 35e.; 1 Aspects, 35c.	5.50
May 23, Yr. Bks., etc., sent to various people, as per order of Dr. Morgenstern	27.32
May 25, Expr. on Yr. Bks., etc., from Rubovits, Chicago.....	5.25
Total	\$577.28

EXHIBIT G.

NEW CONGREGATIONS.

The Union Prayer Book has been introduced in the following congregations since June 1, 1907:

Cleveland, O. (Anshe Chesed Congregation).
Chicago, Ill. (Congregation Emanu-El).
York, Pa. (Hebrew Reform Congregation).
Morgan City, La.
New York (Free Synagogue).
Greenville, Ala.
Clinton, Mo.
Cumberland, Md. (Bair Chayim Congregation).
Hamilton, Ont. (Congregation Anshe Sholom).
Roanoke, Va. (Emanu-El Congregation).
Yonkers, N. Y. (Staff of Aaron Congregation).
Milwaukee, Wis. (Sinai Congregation).

The Sabbath Evening and Morning Service was introduced by the Ladies' Auxiliary Society, Baltimore.

UNION HYMNALS.

Cleveland Jewish Orphan Asylum.
Baltimore Oheb Sholom Congregation.
Temple Israel of Harlem, New York City.

Rabbi K. Kohler moved that a committee be appointed to select for the purpose of reprinting important papers read before previous conventions of the Conference. Seconded. Moved by Rabbi Joseph Stolz and seconded that the matter be referred to the Executive Committee.

For the statement of and action upon resolutions presented at this and later sessions and referred to the Committee on Resolutions, see the report of that committee.

A resolution was presented by Rabbis Foster and M. A. Meyer that the Conference give expression to its sentiments of appreciation of the services of ex-President Grover Cleveland, whose death had recently occurred. The motion was seconded and carried that a committee be appointed to draft resolutions and report during the convention. The Chair appointed the following committee:

S. Foster, M. A. Meyer, J. Krauskopf, J. B. Wise and W. Fineshreiber.

The Chair—Brethren, although our Conference is known to the world as a gathering of Reform Rabbis, yet our interests include all Israel, and I feel that there have been few more gratifying things that have occurred in the history of the Conference than the fact that we are catholic enough to have papers on all men who have contributed towards the sum of Jewish endeavor. And certainly one of the greatest leaders that Judaism has had in the nineteenth century was the man who was known to be the head and front of the so-called neo-orthodoxy, Samson Raphael Hirsch. It gives me great pleasure to introduce as the reader of the paper in honor of the centenary of Samson Raphael Hirsch our Vice-President, Maximilian Heller, who will now proceed with the paper of the morning.

Rabbi Heller then read his paper on Samson Raphael Hirsch in honor of the centenary of his birth. (*v.* Appendix C.)

In addition to Rabbis Kohler and Meyer the discussion of the paper was participated in by Rabbis Enelow, Foster and Berkowitz, and was concluded by Rabbi Heller.

The following committees were then announced: On Resolutions, Krass, Chairman, Newfield, Zepin, Anspacher, Stern, Greenburg, Kornfeld, S. Hirshberg, Kaplan, H. Weiss, Bernstein; on Thanks, Marx, Chairman, Bottigheimer, Ellinger, Jasin, A. J. Messing, Neumark, Silber and I. Klein; on Auditing Report of Treasurer, Marcuson, Chairman, Frisch, Rauch and J. H. Stolz; on Auditing the Report of the Publication Committee, C. S. Levi, Chairman, Solomon, Mielziner, Kahn and L. Rothstein; on Nominations, Gries, Chairman, Goldenson, Currick, Freund, Witt, Ettelson and Alexander; on Press, Leipziger, E. Mannheimer and Rhine.

Adjourned.

THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 2, 1908.

The round table on "The Rabbi's Problems in Smaller Communities" was led by Rabbi William Fineshreiber, and discussed by

Rabbis Klein, Anspacher, Foster, J. H. Stolz, Morgenstern, Jasin, Levi, J. Stolz, Kohler, Kaplan, Bernstein and Newfield.

The round table on "The Rabbi and Fraternal Organizations" was led by Rabbi M. Newfield, and discussed by Rabbis Jasin, Foster, Solomon, Meyer, Greenburg, Krass, Marx, J. H. Stolz, Klein, Rhine, Zepin and Rauch.

FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 3, 1908.

The convention opened with prayer by Rabbi Joseph Rauch, of Sioux City, Ia.

The minutes of the preceding day's meeting were read and approved.

The report of the Committee on Card Index, Prof. G. Deutsch, Chairman, was presented.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CARD INDEX.

CINCINNATI, O., May 7, 1908.

Rev. Dr. Julian Morgenstern, Corresponding Secretary Central Conference of American Rabbis:

DEAR COLLEAGUE: In reply to your request for a report of the Committee on Card Index, I beg to say that experience has taught me that this committee should be discontinued. Of the members only three, Frey, Freund and Frisch, did actual work, and even their work, although very valuable, required a great deal of labor in revision so as to be unified in captions and system. I thus found that I was not adequate to do the work of supervising unless I had a trained staff of clerical help, which is obviously out of the question. Thus I continued to work as before, and at this writing my index comprises over 10,600 cards, not counting those written in German, which I am slowly revising and replacing by English cards, in so far as they have not become superfluous by the Jewish Encyclopedia. The only thing which I can suggest at the present moment is an appropriation for the copying of my cards and the placing of the duplicates in another building in order to protect the labor of years against loss by fire and other accidents. My cards are always at the disposal of everybody interested in such material, and I am glad to say that Dr. Maurice Fishberg, of New York, made use of my notes on intermarriage and found them very valuable. He had learned of their existence through our last Year Book. Fraternaly yours,

G. DEUTSCH.

Rabbi Wise—I move that the report be referred to the Executive Committee.

Rabbi Stolz—I think that this is in violation of the constitution. This provides for a permanent Committee on Card Index. I will read from the last Year Book. (*v.* Year Book of 1907, Constitution, By-laws, Art. III., Section 11, p. 22.)

The Chair—That is of course explicit. Dr. Deutsch will have to be informed that according to the constitution the Committee on Card Index will have to be continued. The second part of the report may call for some action.

On motion, duly seconded, this portion of the report was referred to the Executive Committee.

The report of the Committee on Contemporaneous Jewish History, Prof. G. Deutsch, Chairman, was then presented.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CONTEMPORANEOUS JEWISH HISTORY.

To the Ninetcenth Annual Convention, Central Conference American Rabbis:

BRETHREN: The past year has brought us some important questions affecting Jews and Judaism in our country which invite serious thought as to action of this body and as to suggestions for the communal activity of its members. In the first place, is to be mentioned the Russian passport question in which the Federal Government yielded so far to Russian tyranny as to issue a circular declaring it would not issue passports for Russia to Jews. While upon protest in the Committee of Foreign Affairs the Secretary of State withdrew this objectionable circular, the government has not yet acted on the main question, viz., the denying of the rights of American citizens to American citizens of the Jewish persuasion traveling in Russia.

In internal affairs the Sunday legislation depriving Sabbath-observing Jews of their constitutional rights still demands our attention. Of late new attempts are being made to meddle with liberty of conscience by an agitation against the Jewish mode of killing animals. It does not matter what theological position most or all the members of this Conference occupy in regard to the authority of the dietary Jews, they feel with their brethren to whom these laws are divine, and to whom any interference with such a practice rightly is religious oppression.

Your committee therefore would suggest that the scope of your Committee on Church and State be extended to include such questions, or if in the opinion of the executive such declaration is unnecessary, that the attention of this committee be called to these questions and that it suggest the proper way for this Conference as a body and for its members as individuals to act in the interests of Judaism.

The case of Professor Feilbogen, of Vienna, whose wife was charged with host-desecration while attending Easter services at the Vatican, has a more than individual import. The declarations of the parties concerned show that the very regrettable incident was not as bad as originally reported, but the matter is serious enough to justify a warning, which the members of this Conference might bring home to their congregations, that Jewish tourists visiting Rome should be careful not to go to places or to attend religious exercises at which they would be bound to participate in acts which, if not done with religious conviction, must appear as mockery and offend the religious sensibilities of those to whom they are a devotion, and, furthermore, that while we Jews respect the religious views and practices of others, we must not forget the rabbinical explanation of Mordecai's behavior, who would not bow down where his fathers had not bowed down. (Midrash Rabba, Esther iii., 2.)

While Judaism has no ecclesiastic authority which can interfere with the freedom of teaching, and thus produce internal disruption as in other religious denominations, we cannot deny that there is in our midst, both here and abroad, a strong undercurrent of morbid sentimentality which would decry the whole modern development of Judaism, both in practice and in theory, as makeshift or even as covert apostasy. It therefore seems proper to your committee that we extend the hand of fellowship to our brethren across the water who, like ourselves, stand for the idea of progress in Judaism. Your committee recommends that we send a message of appreciation to Geheimer Oberregierungsrat Dr. D. Mayer, in Karlsruhe, and to Stadtrabbiner Dr. M. Steckelmacher, in Mannheim, for their undaunted activity in upholding the standard of liberal Judaism.

Frequent questions as to the merits of appeals for assistance from abroad would suggest that the Executive charge a proper committee, perhaps that of Social and Religious Union, with the work of investigation into such cases, so as to give proper guidance to those willing to help and to prevent frauds from preying upon the charity of our co-religionists. Such a committee would in time be able to take up the propaganda for deserving institutions and societies abroad, as in Morocco, Roumania, Galicia, Palestine and especially for the Alliance Israelite.

In reviewing the list of prominent Israelites who died since the Conference was assembled for the last time, your committee places before you the following recommendations:

This Conference records its sorrow at the loss which Jewish literature has suffered through the death of Hirsch Bernstein, who died at Tannersville, N. Y., August 1, 1907; Judah Steinberg, who died at Odessa, March 10, 1908; Joshua Bershadski, who died at Warsaw, March 11, 1908, and Emanuel Baumgarten, who died at Vienna, May 20, 1908.

The Hebrew author in America is still a foreign and almost exclusively a Russian product. He connects us with such men as Steinberg and Bershadski,

who are doing the work of educators, and he reminds us of the rare specimens of that age of which Emanuel Baumgarten was a relic, when the "Maskil" led in the transition from the one-sided Rabbinitism of the eighteenth century into the general culture of our era. It must be mentioned on this occasion that the leading Hebrew authors of Russia, with Bialik at their head, have issued an appeal on behalf of the family of Steinberg and that this appeal well deserves your attention.

Your committee further suggests that this convention record its deep sorrow at the death of Abraham Goldfaden, the popular playwright and composer, at New York, January 9, 1908. The Yiddish stage, while of recent date, is no longer an anomaly, but has produced and popularized works of art, elevated the standard of taste, been a teacher of social problems, raised the self-respect of the Jews and the standing of the Jew in the literary world. Be it therefore, resolved, that this Conference express its admiration for the work done by the late Abraham Goldfaden and extend to his widow the most heartfelt sympathy of its members.

The cause of Jewish learning, the dearest concern of the members of this Conference, has in the course of the last year lost three prominent representatives, Gustav Oppert, who died at Berlin, March 17, 1908; Hartvig Derenbourg, who died at Paris, April 12, 1908, and Albert Löwy, who died at London, May 21, 1908.

Professor Oppert, member of a family of distinguished scholars, has not only bestowed lustre on our faith by his activity as professor of Madras University, not only enriched our store of knowledge by his investigations in the field of Jewish history in India; he has also taken active part in the advancement of the cause of Jewish learning by his unselfish work as trustee of the "Lehranstalt fuer die Wissenschaft des Judenthums," the alma mater of some of our members. Be it resolved, that this convention spread its expression of sorrow at the demise of Gustav Oppert on its minutes and send a copy of this statement to the "Lehranstalt" in Berlin, with the request to inform the family of the deceased of our action.

Hartvig Derenbourg, the son of a famous father, followed the traditions of his family by his contributions to our literature and by participation in Jewish communal and educational work, and thus has won a claim on our gratitude. Be it resolved, that these sentiments be spread on the minutes of this convention and a copy thereof be sent to the "Société des Etudes Juives," with a request to transmit them to the family of the deceased.

The merits of the late Rev. Dr. Albert Löwy have been duly recognized in our last convention on the occasion of his ninetieth birthday. We need not repeat them. His work is his monument. He has gone home in the fullness of years, even as a sheaf is gathered in its season. This Conference looks up to him as one of the patriarchs of a sincere and yet modern religion with gratitude to the Giver of Life, who has spared His servant to the blessed

age of ninety-two and preserved to him to the end vigor of mind and soul. A copy of this statement shall be sent to the family of the deceased.

It is an unusual procedure for this Conference to take special cognizance of an event like the death of Esther Ruskay, who departed this life October 30, 1907. Mrs. Ruskay was neither friendly nor even just to our cause. Still her life was our justification. A woman taking a leading position in religious life, American in her education, in her social manners and ideas, is the best justification of what, in spite of all sneers, we are proud to call American Judaism. Far from taking offense at some unkind remarks made by the deceased sister, we pay the due tribute to her sincerity and record our appreciation of the good that she did and the good that she intended, conveying to her family our sincerest sympathy.

Not boastfully do we look up to the achievements of individual Jews in the advancement of mankind's good, but rather with gratitude to Him who has given a share of His wisdom and goodness to those who fear Him, and has privileged His people Israel to sanctify His name in the world. Still we may mention of the many noble men whom our community has lost during the last year some whose work is particularly suggestive.

Charles L. Hallgarten, who died at Frankfort-on-the-Main, April 19, was, although born abroad and for years domiciled abroad, an American Jew. He not only won the admiration of both Jews and non-Jews in the city which he had made his home, but also forced our bitterest opponents to confess that he had proved that a liberal in religion could be not merely a good and noble citizen, but also a warm-hearted Jew.

Otto Salomon, who died at Nääs, Sweden, November 3, 1907, was a world celebrity as a pioneer of manual training. We see in him a benefactor of mankind in a line of work which our enemies usually claim is shunned by Israel. Eduard Glaser, the explorer of Arabia, who died at the age of 52 in Munich, May 13, 1908, is another refutation of the charge that the Jew knows no pioneer work, that he merely wishes to reap where others have plowed and sown. And finally it is just patriotism when we mention the name of August Bondi, scion of a noble family in historic Prague, who fought, when a boy at the age of 15, for the cause of freedom in Vienna, fought by the side of that immortal hero, John Brown, for the cause of freedom in Kansas, and finally for the cause of liberty during the Civil War. He died in blessed old age October 1, 1907. We thank the Giver of Life for all these noble lives spent in accordance with the rabbinic precepts, **שיהא שם שמים מתאהב על ירך**

Respectfully submitted,

G. DEUTSCH,
J. MORGENSTERN,
Committee.

Rabbi J. Stolz—I move that the report be referred to the Committee on Resolutions, with instructions to carry out the recommendations therein.

Seconded and carried.

The report of the Committee on the Geiger Centenary was presented by the Chairman, Dr. K. Kohler.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE GEIGER CENTENARY.

After a lengthy correspondence between the Chairman of your committee and Prof. Ludwig Geiger, it became evident that the original plan of having the Central Conference of American Rabbis co-operate with the Geiger Committee in Germany for the purpose of publishing a great, monumental work on Abraham Geiger in commemoration of his centennial was not advisable, for the reason that the latter contemplated a work of specifically scientific character, intended for the scholarly world of Germany, and therefore laid great stress upon having it written in the German language, whereas your committee felt that in order to make propadanda among our English-speaking Jews and non-Jews for the principles and views of Reform Judaism, such as were first and for all time enunciated by Geiger, the whole should be written in English. Accordingly the Chairman called a meeting of the committee and had the original plan modified. The following is the report of the committee:

I regret to state that of those members of the committee that were not present at the meeting only Dr. Enelow responded, stating his acceptance.

We can therefore at present only report progress. And with your approval we would add Prof. David Neumark to the committee.

It is proposed to publish a memorial volume of approximately 500 pages, of which 300 shall be devoted to papers and 200 to specimens from Geiger's writings, translated into English.

The divisions are approximately as follows:

1. Biography of Geiger, by Hirsch..... 75 pages
 2. Bibliography of Geiger's works, with notes on the Geiger family, by Deutsch..... 25 pages
 3. Geiger as a reformer, by Philipson..... 75 pages
 4. Geiger as a historian, by Kohler..... 75 pages
 5. Geiger as a philologist, by Margolis..... 25 pages
 6. Geiger as an exegete, by the same..... 25 pages
- A page to number approximately 350 words.

The selection from Geiger's writings shall be made in such a way that each member of the committee shall take one part of Geiger's works and select what he considers best for translation. Out of these selections such a number of essays or chapters from larger works shall be selected, as shall be within the limits of space.

Kohler will read "Der Israelit des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts," "Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums" and Steinschneider's "Hebräische Bibliographie;" Philipson, "Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift" and pamphlets; Deutsch, "Juedische Zeitschrift," Vols. I-V; Hirsch, "Juedische Zeitschrift," Vols. VI-XI; Enelow, "Gesammelte Schriften," Vols. I-III; Schulman, "Gesammelte Schriften," Vols. IV-V; Sale, "Vorlesungen," Prayer-book, "Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft." He will also select such chapters from Geiger's works as are of general interest and are suitable for independent publication.

The manuscript must be in the hands of the Chairman of the committee by July 1, 1909.

DR. K. KOHLER, *Chairman.*

Rabbi Levi—Inasmuch as this will involve considerable expense on the part of the Conference, I move that the report be referred to the Executive Committee with full power to act. Seconded.

The Chair—The Conference has decided to publish the Geiger volume in honor of the centenary of Geiger's birth. This committee was appointed in accordance with the resolutions of the Conference and has now brought in its report. I do not quite see how we can refer this back to the Executive Committee, unless we give definite instructions in addition to those of two years ago.

Rabbi Krauskopf—The Executive Committee should be mindful of the suggestion made by our Treasurer. They should have something to say as to how the volume shall be issued, how many copies, what paper and binding, and all matters of expense. I think that this is what our Treasurer had in mind.

Rabbi J. Stolz—I would amend that the committee be continued, and their recommendation with regard to how the book shall be published, be referred to the Executive Committee with power to act. Let me read from the proceedings of two years ago. (*v. Year Book, 1906, 86f.*)

The Chair—The motion is this, that the Executive Committee be instructed to carry out the resolution of the Conference to issue a Geiger memorial volume before May, 1910, and that this committee, which has been appointed, be continued.

The motion as just announced was adopted unanimously.

The following resolution was offered by Rabbi Kornfeld:

Whereas, The lack of uniformity in the branches of study and the large variety of text-books used in our Sabbath schools make it impossible for one

school to recognize the certificates of standing given by another school not using the same system, thereby working a hardship to the child and reflecting upon the standard of efficiency of the work done; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Central Conference of American Rabbis take such steps as will eventually bring about these desired reforms.

Rabbi Wise—I move that this resolution be referred to a special committee to report at this Conference. Seconded.

Rabbi Levi—There is a standing committee on Sabbath schools, and it is within their authority. I move to amend that this resolution be referred to the Committee on Religious Schools, with instructions to report within the sessions of this Conference.

Rabbi Wise—I will accept that amendment with the consent of my second.

Rabbi Kornfeld—I wish to offer a substitute motion, that a special committee be appointed, independent of the regular Committee on Religious Schools, with instructions to report on this resolution at this Conference.

Seconded and carried.

The following committee was appointed: Kornfeld, Chairman; Kahn, F. Cohn, Alexander, Newfield and Kaplan.

The report of the Committee on the Harmonization of the Mosaic and Modern Marriage Laws was then presented by the Chairman, Rabbi Wm. Rosenau.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE HARMONIZATION OF THE MOSAIC AND MODERN MARRIAGE LAWS.

To the President and Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis:

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on the Harmonization of the Mosaic and Modern Marriage Laws begs leave to report:

The task assigned to us is of such magnitude that it is impossible for us to give an exhaustive treatment of the subject at this time. We were appointed at the end of October, 1907, and because of the many official duties which have since then devolved upon us in our respective communities, we are in position merely to map out a line of procedure to be followed by this or by some other committee to be appointed. We deem it advisable to distribute the work which the study of the subject entails. One member should study the marriage laws of the Bible, another those of the Codes, another make a digest of the various laws in vogue in the different states of the

Union, and a fourth study similar attempts at harmonization made in this and other countries. With these separate studies as a basis your committee will then be in a position to suggest a method of harmonization asked for by your Executive Committee. Respectfully submitted,

WM. ROSENAU, *Chairman.*

ADOLPH GUTTMACHER.

ISAAC L. RYPINS.

A. B. RHINE.

Rabbi Frisch—I move you that the report be printed and the committee continued to carry out the work mapped out therein.

Seconded.

Rabbi Rosenau—I would suggest that this committee be enlarged and reconstituted. We have on the one hand suffered a great loss in the death of Dr. Voorsanger, and on the other hand we are also unfortunately so distributed throughout the country that it is impossible for the committee to meet. I think it would be wise to constitute the committee so that it could meet at least once or twice during the year without great expense to the Conference. Therefore, I offer the amendment that the committee be reconstituted.

Rabbi Frisch—I accept the amendment.

The Chair—This becomes part of the original motion, which is now as follows, that the report be accepted, the committee reconstituted, the Chairman continued and the report handed in next year.

Carried unanimously.

The Chair made an appeal to the members of the Conference in the interest of the Sabbath school magazine, "Young Israel", published by Mr. S. M. Goldsmith under the auspices of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. The subject was discussed by Rabbis Zepin, Rypins and Wise and by Mr. Goldsmith, who was given the privilege of the floor.

Rabbi Mielziner—In view of what has been said I suggest that a communication be sent to the congregations represented by the members of this Conference, with the request that they subscribe for the paper for the children of the Sabbath schools.

The Chair—Do you mean that the Conference should send a communication to the congregations?

Rabbi Mielziner—I mean that the Conference shall indorse what the Union has done, and call the attention of the boards of the congregations to the fact that it is their duty to support this paper.

Moved and seconded.

Rabbi Zepin—That is a very good business move. This letter can be sent in the fall when the Rabbis return to their congregations. They can then present the matter to the Trustees, upon whom it must certainly have an effect, if we advise each congregation to adopt the paper as part of the Sabbath school curriculum.

The Chair—You have heard the motion, that this Conference issue a communication to the congregations ministered to by our members, calling attention to this magazine, which is published under the auspices of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and urging the school committee to subscribe for it for the children of the school. Are there any remarks?

Rabbi Levi—I amend the motion to this effect, that we heartily indorse the publication of "Young Israel"; that we send our approval of this indorsement to the Union of the American Hebrew Congregations, since it is their work, which they are fostering in every way, and that they take this our approval and send it to all the congregations in the land, showing the high indorsement that has been paid by the Central Conference of American Rabbis. I do not believe we should interfere in the business affairs of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations; they take our recommendation and make use of it in this way.

Seconded.

Rabbi Marx—The only suggestion I wish to make is that I hereby obligate myself to procure subscriptions for one hundred copies of the paper. I also wish to ask in what manner the motion and the amendment are incompatible?

The Chair—Rabbi Levi's amendment is intended to kill the motion. You are now voting on the amendment, which means that we do not send a communication from this Conference to the individual congregations, but one to the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, which the Union can then use at its pleasure.

The amendment was lost. The original motion was then put and carried.

The paper of Rabbi Julian Morgenstern, on "The Significance of the Bible for Reform Judaism in the Light of Modern Scientific Research", was then read. (*v.* Appendix D.)

In addition to Rabbis Krass and Ettelson the discussion was participated in by Rabbis Kohler, Kaplan, Neumark, Ellinger, Wise, Enelow and Goldenson, and was closed by Rabbi Morgenstern.

Adjourned.

FRIDAY EVENING, JULY 3, 1908.

The regular Sabbath evening service was read by Rabbi Nathan Stern. The Conference Sermon was preached by Rabbi Wm. Rose-nau (*v.* Appendix E), and the closing prayer and benediction were given by Rabbi Seymour G. Bottigheimer.

SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 4, 1908.

The Sabbath morning service was conducted by Rabbis Jacob Mielziner and A. J. Messing. The Conference Lecture was delivered by Rabbi Wm. H. Greenburg (*v.* Appendix F), and the closing prayer and benediction were given by Rabbi Charles J. Freund.

SUNDAY MORNING, JULY 5, 1908.

The meeting was opened with prayer by Rabbi Martin A. Meyer. The minutes of the preceding session were read and approved.

The report of the Committee on Sermonic Literature was then presented by the Chairman, Rabbi Samuel Hirschberg, and on motion was accepted.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SERMONIC LITERATURE.

To the President and Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis:

COLLEAGUES: The Chairman of your Committee on Sermonic Literature has always believed that the work of any committee should not be assumed by, nor devolve alone upon, its Chairman. He has always been of the mind that those who accepted the honor of appointment upon a committee owed as

recognition to the general body the duty of sharing with the Chairman the specific work of that committee.

In accordance with this thought he addressed a letter to the members of his committee last March, in which, to avoid duplication, he indicated to each of the committee members a separate group of names of members of the Conference from among whom he was to invite as many or as few of the colleagues whom he might choose to contribute a particular sermon, i. e., a sermon for one of six particular occasions, to the holiday pamphlet, giving preference, however, in his invitation to members of the Conference who had not as yet had a sermon included in such a publication.

He regrets to report that although he followed up this initial communication with several prodding reminders, he has received up to date but one sermon from his associates on the committee. However, with a heritage of several sermons on hand from the committee of last year, and with the positive promise of those of his associates on the committee present at this Conference that the other sermons required will be sent to him within the next few weeks, he would herewith give the Conference the reliable assurance that the holiday pamphlet will be compiled, published and sent out in sufficient season for the approaching holidays to those for whom such a publication is primarily intended. Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL HIRSHBERG, *Chairman.*

The Committee on Tracts presented its report.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON TRACTS.

To the Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis:

One of the pet plans of the founder of the Conference was the issuing of tracts that were to be brief presentations of our position on various subjects of opinion, belief and practice. At nearly every meeting of the Conference the advisability of issuing such publications has been referred to in one manner or another. It gives us pleasure to report that this long-discussed purpose has been realized. During the past year the first Conference Tract was published. Its subject is "What Do Jews Believe?" The tract is a clear and excellent presentation of the essentials of Jewish belief by our fellow member, Dr. H. G. Enelow, of Louisville, Ky.

In issuing the tract your committee prefaced it with the following foreword: For some years the Central Conference of American Rabbis has had under consideration the publication of tracts on vital questions of Jewish belief, opinion and practice. Although published and distributed by the Conference these publications are not to be regarded as official pronouncements. The writer is alone responsible for the views presented. It is intended to issue tracts from time to time and to give them as wide a circulation as possible.

An edition of 10,300 copies of the tract was printed, whereof 9,350 were distributed broadcast to our co-religionists in all parts of the country, to

newspapers generally and the religious press particularly and to the Christian clergy. The remaining 950 copies were sent to our distributing agents, Bloch & Co., from whom copies can be secured free upon application. The total expense entailed in issuing the tract for printing, electrotyping and postage was \$184.16.

Your committee recommends that the Committee on Tracts be continued, and it further recommends that a Committee on Tracts, whose duty it shall be to issue tracts from time to time, become one of the standing committees of the Conference, and that the first steps be taken at this Conference to amend Art. III of the by-laws of the constitution to this effect.

Respectfully submitted,

DAVID PHILIPSON,
MAX HELLER,
JOSEPH STOLZ,
Committee on Tracts.

Moved that the report be accepted.

Rabbi Guttmacher—While it is wise for the Conference to guard itself by placing at the head of the various papers read before it and printed in the year books, that these papers express the opinions of the writers only, I do not think it advisable to place that remark at the head of our tracts. If these tracts are to amount to anything they should be issued as the opinion of the Central Conference of Reform Rabbis of this country, and not as an expression of individual opinion. It seems to me this would be the right position for the Conference to take. No tract should be published unless it represents almost the unanimous opinion of the Conference. Otherwise it will lose much of its effectiveness. I would therefore move that this preface be omitted from all tracts published hereafter.

Rabbi Heller—While, of course, I did assent to the printing of this foreword, yet we all know that every one would have been ready to indorse every syllable of what Dr. Enelow wrote. Still I can not help agreeing with Dr. Guttmacher that this particular part of the foreword is enfeebling in its effect and smacks of excessive caution, as if we were afraid to commit ourselves to anything whatever. It really strengthens the general impression which I heard voiced at a very important meeting some years ago, that there are just as many Judaisms in this country as there are Rabbis. Now

I think it is the business of the Conference to refute any such impression and to indicate that there are a number of things in which we do agree, and that we are not split up into a multitude of infinitesimal particles. But I think it would be wise were each tract submitted to the Executive Committee before publication, so as to insure the utter propriety and perfect admissibility of such a tract, and then send it forth with the approval of the Executive Committee as the sense of the Conference. I would amend that in the copies of Dr. Enelow's tract to be printed hereafter this prefatorial note be omitted.

Rabbi Guttmacher—I accept the amendment as part of my original motion.

The Chair—We have only 800 of these tracts left, and we might as well print a new edition and not send out those 800. You have heard the motion of Dr. Guttmacher and the amendment which he has accepted.

Rabbi Jasin amended that the prefatorial note be retained whenever the Executive Committee deemed it advisable.

Rabbi S. Hirshberg—Do I understand the mover of the amendment to mean in all cases where the Executive Committee deems it wise?

The Chair—I would answer by saying in case the Executive Committee feels that the tract does not voice the views of the Conference it may use its own judgment.

Rabbi Heller—The idea of submitting the tract before publication to the Executive Committee is, of course, not to reflect upon the Tract Committee; I was a member of it myself. But the idea is that the Tract Committee has to plan the tracts, and to select the subjects and the writers, and when the tract has been written it should be submitted to the Tract Committee and afterwards to the Executive Committee. This is my idea of the mode of procedure.

Rabbi Jasin—If that is the idea I want to say that it seems to me that would not be wise, for the reason that the Executive Committee is elected on one basis of qualification and the Tract Committee on another. The Tract Committee ought to consist of men of various opinions, and then when it has agreed it would fairly represent the Conference.

Rabbi Schulman—This matter is not altogether as simple as it seems. I was inclined to sympathize with the remarks of Dr. Guttacher with respect to the possible enfeebling of a tract by such a foreword. Yet the question has another aspect. Unless we empower the Executive Committee to examine and revise we may find ourselves in a position where the writing of tracts will become impossible. For all tracts may not be, both with respect to the subject matter and to the manner of presentation of such a character as to insure that unanimity of acceptance which has been accorded the tract already issued. There are questions upon which we could very well publish tracts written in a very catholic spirit, which, while they would not have the unanimous indorsement of the Conference, would nevertheless be a message of power, a message of clear presentation of Judaism, and a message of moral influence. And yet, if such a tract were presented to the Executive Committee it might raise a question for discussion in that Executive Committee, and the members might feel impelled to make corrections and revisions which would finally compel the author to withdraw it altogether. Therefore, this is not as simple as it at first seemed. There is not before the American public a tract on the position of the Jewish people on the Keneseth Yisrael, and yet if that question were once brought up on the floor of this Conference it would arouse discussion and division. Now this is a subject that should be elucidated in that simple, clear, concise and popular form in which we have had the essence of what the Jews believe elucidated in the tract already issued. And yet if you appointed some one to write such a tract, with instructions to submit it to the Executive Committee, I am quite sure that the Executive Committee, as at present constituted, would start discussion on that tract, and it would be very difficult to satisfy all the members. Now were a man at all fit to write that tract he certainly would not permit the Executive Committee to tell him how he should state his thought or present his message. He would rather dispense with the privilege of becoming the mouth-piece of the Conference. Therefore, it is perhaps best to leave the matter where it was originally placed. You might amend the phraseology so as to do away with the impression of enfeeblement. Phrase your foreword to this tract in

such a way as to bring out your desire to emphasize the individuality of the writer, rather than to disclaim indorsement of it. You may so phrase a foreword as to give the impression to the reader that you are afraid to commit yourself to what the man says. That enfeebles his message. You may, on the other hand, so phrase your foreword as to convey the idea that we want each man to give his own individual message to the country, and it is a courtesy the Conference shows him by publishing it; not because we are afraid of committing the Conference, but because we want him to stand on his own feet. Just change the phraseology, and you will thus avoid the enfeeblement, and at the same time amply protect the freedom of the individual. But, if there is to be any revision at all, I would agree with Brother Jasin that the proper body for this is the committee that planned the tract, for it is presumed that it has definite ideas and knows best the objects and limitations of the tract. The proper thing, it seems to me, would be to enlarge the Committee on Tracts, so that it reflects the various opinions in the Conference, and then let the Committee on Tracts supervise. In other words, those who have planned the tracts, who have selected the writer for the tract, should finally give the decision as to whether the tract shall go out and represent the Conference. Personally, I am not clear whether we ought to change at all. I am rather inclined to the belief that the best thing is to let the tract go forth as the opinion of the individual.

Rabbi Guttmacher—I fail to see why any member of this Conference should object to having the tract revised or reviewed by the Executive Committee. This Conference gives an opportunity to every member to give his individual opinions on any subject that comes within the province of our Conference, but I still maintain that a tract is a far more important matter than was indicated by the previous speakers. A tract is to represent the collective opinion of this Conference, and I do not see why any member of the Tract Committee should feel at all squeamish about having that tract passed upon by the Executive Committee. We are all members of the same Conference. There will be no antagonism between the Tract Committee and the author of the tract, and if the committee should decide that the tract does not represent the opinion of the

Conference, I do not see why the writer should feel in any way slighted or that his ability has been reflected upon. But I do not favor any tract going out as the opinion of an individual member of this Conference.

Rabbi Rhine—It seems to me that after the Conference has once published a tract this becomes practically official in spite of the foreword. There is really a contradiction in terms. If the Conference does not think that the view expressed in the tract is a Jewish view, then it has no business to publish it. To give the Executive Committee power to reject any tract because it does not voice the sentiments of some member of the committee is un-Jewish. I therefore am in favor of Dr. Guttmacher's motion to omit altogether that phrase in the foreword.

Rabbi Kaplan—It is possible that a tract may be presented to the Executive Committee of great value and of superior scholarship and yet may not receive the indorsement of the Executive Committee. In such case I would suggest that the paper be published, and that the Executive Committee hand in its thoughts on the subject and publish them together.

Rabbi Anspacher—One point in regard to Brother Enelow's tract brought out by Dr. Heller; this question of discrimination is bosh. Dr. Heller's statement was that almost all of us approve of the tract of Dr. Enelow. Now, if here was a tract published with regard to which there is almost a unanimous agreement—and this was a tract on an important subject—then this talk of individual opinion which has harassed the Conference for a good many years is too much in evidence.

Prof. Neumark—I think that the Conference is now in position to express its opinions clearly and decisively upon Judaism. Of course, about some questions there is bound to be controversy. But it is time to eliminate controversy, or at least to strive for agreement on some points on which as yet agreement has not been expressed. This was an organic weakness, so to speak, of liberalism in Germany in general from its inception up to the present day. The Orthodox had the courage to form their opinions, childish though these may have been in many cases. They had the courage to form these opinions, to cherish them and to give public expres-

sion to them. The liberal Rabbis felt, and still feel today, that they could agree only upon practical questions. But upon theoretical questions they imagined themselves to be in utter disagreement. But I am sure that even on theoretical questions there is more agreement than controversy among us. Accordingly I cannot see why it would be impossible to submit such a tract to a special committee, and why we could not indicate in the foreword that there are some points upon which there is not absolute agreement, or why we could not even in the preface give an outline of the opinions of the various members of the committee, and thus set forth the differences existing among us. On the other hand, we will have to present the Jewish view of only those questions upon which there is practically full agreement, and I am sure that the formulae thus established will be found to be a complete statement of the fundamental doctrines of Judaism.

Rabbi Gries—The time is very limited, and I shall speak briefly. First as to the practicability of referring the tract to the Executive Committee; I do not think this feasible. The Executive Committee is scattered all over the country. If it is to be referred to the Executive Committee it must be to the whole Committee, and if there be a difference of opinion it must be borne in mind in the final decision. I think the plan of last year better. The Executive Committee appointed some one to write a tract on a specific subject, and final decision was vested in a special Tract Committee, created for that purpose. Such a committee for such a purpose is proper, for, who can tell, the most capable man in the Conference may, in writing a tract, produce something unworthy of himself and of the Conference. It is no reflection on anyone if the tract be submitted to a special committee. I think we should adhere to the old plan of letting the writer express his individual opinion; not because he needs or does not need the sanction of the Conference, but because a tract cannot be considered the official opinion of the Conference unless submitted to and approved of by the Conference. Now, I am a member of this Conference, and disagree absolutely with many of the opinions held by the majority of my fellow-members. I don't object to this. You voted me out of the Conference several years ago

when you declared that men who held a certain kind of Sunday service should not stay in the Conference. I felt it did not harm us one bit. And you finally came around and discovered that it did not harm you any. But in passing upon a tract as the expression of the opinion of the Conference absolutely, you do something which I think cannot be borne out by actual facts. Should you decide to issue a tract on the Sabbath, for example, there would be the widest difference of opinion. The individual man or group of men might make it an expression of their opinion and hold themselves responsible, but the Conference should reserve to itself the power to say that nothing shall go forth which the Conference thinks unworthy of itself.

Rabbi Heller—I would not rise to discuss this question at this time, if I did not feel it was really fundamental. After all, we are at the beginning of this movement, and we all feel that with the preparation that it has required to come to complete results it has been a very important movement. I feel that it is very important that we should determine upon the principles and methods with which we go forth to the world on this movement. Now, I was impressed by the practical difficulties as presented by Dr. Gries, and I am free to say I have changed my mind as to the resubmission of the tracts to the Executive Committee. I believe after what he said that it is impracticable. But at the same time, I was still more impressed by the earnest manner in which Dr. Neumark, using the example of the German Liberal Rabbis, presented to us the danger, which I had, in my weak way, tried to present, of standing before the world as atoms that are continually flying apart without any connection, yet refusing to come before the world with anything we feel we cannot endorse; and I am still more impressed by that when I consider that after all—now, there may be a difference of opinion on that subject—

Dr. Gries—May I ask a question?

Rabbi Heller—Certainly.

Dr. Gries—Does not the Conference express the courage of its convictions, as Dr. Neumark suggested, in its declarations on important questions; and haven't we year after year, and does not our year-book reveal that on any important question under dispute

on American Jewish life we have had the courage of our opinions and expressed ourselves? And is not the tract different from such an expression of judgment on controverted questions?

Rabbi Heller—I am ready to answer your question. While I was saying what I was, I distinctly knew at the same time that we had put ourselves on record on all questions as to any debatable matters. But I want to add this: it is necessary that we as a Conference should come before the public with expressions of a popular kind, not only on the obligations of our religion, but on the traditions of Judaism and other subjects. Now, opinions may differ as to whether the tract of Dr. Enelow was the most difficult or the most easy to write. Some believe one way and some another. For my part, I am ready to say that Dr. Enelow's tract was exceedingly difficult to write—to write interestingly and freshly, and so as to satisfy all phases of Judaism. While I would have begun at the other end, by discussing portions of the Jewish faith and parts of our belief and explanations of what Judaism teaches concerning the Messiah, etc., and built upward from the foundation toward the top, still the Executive Committee decided differently. Yet I think there are a number of subjects on which we could all agree perfectly, and on which we should come before the public popularly as a united body. After all, let us remember that the public needs more than the expression of our beliefs alone. There are Jewish principles to be taught; there are various departments of morality which are Jewish, and which ought to be popularly presented.

Rabbi Foster—Would such literature be permitted in the strict treatment of tracts? The tract would imply doctrinal questions.

Rabbi Heller—Not necessarily. The Christians issue tracts on temperance, on business honesty, on the purity of the home, etc. Now, let us discuss exhaustively this important principle; do we wish to continue our centrifugal movement? Do we wish to preface every publication and these tracts with the words: "This is not the expression of our fundamental agreement. This is an individual expression. Be careful! Don't think this binds all Reform Judaism. It does not. We won't tell you which part of it is an individual opinion, and which is the opinion of Reform Judaism;

you find that out for yourselves. We refuse to tell you what is our agreed opinion upon this subject." Now I say, gentlemen, we should try to realize for ourselves what a tract is. What is its purpose? What do we mean to accomplish by it? I may be entirely wrong in my opinion, but I would like to submit it for your consideration. In my opinion a tract is, first of all, not an essay, not a paper, not a treatise, not a popular talk. It is a light presentation, intended to make the reader feel that he is in touch with a live subject. The first requisite of the tract is freshness and broadness and vitality and a touch of life and sincerity. It must be popular; it must be vital. The second requisite is this; the matter presented should not be of a controversial nature. These are to my mind the essentials of the tract. Now, if you have followed me, and agree with me, I think you will have come to the conclusion that we ought not say in effect: "Look at this. It is not settled. The thing you are reading is the opinion of the individual. It is issued by the Conference because it is pretty well done, but still it is a thing on which we are unsettled." Let us have the courage to say: "Of course, it is true. In its long history, in its rich literature, Judaism has reached certain convictions." And I say again, tracts are issued, not to explain dogmas, but to present clearly problems of morality and Judaism's view of these problems. Because you will admit that Judaism has something characteristic to say about every problem of morality. It is my hope, that, starting with one tract a year, we shall be able to issue three or four or five tracts annually. Then we will have a tract literature, of which the Rabbi will be able to say to his congregation: "You want to know what Judaism has said on this or that moral question, and what Jewish literature contains, and what seems to be the Jewish spirit? Here is a tract which presents a clear and popular summary." Therefore, I repeat, we shall commit a fundamental error if we again follow the practice, already followed so often, of saying, "This is an individual expression, and not the sense of the Conference." It is very important that our Conference should take its courage in both hands, should step forward as a unit before the world, and by its action

refute the widespread sentiment, which I quoted some time ago, that every Reform Rabbi represents a Judaism of his own.

Rabbi Newfield—I am convinced of the advisability of referring this to a special committee to act with the Executive Committee. It might be proper, if you wish a consensus of the opinions of the Conference, to send the tract to every member. Last year we found it advisable to appoint a sub-committee to act with the Executive Committee. This proved satisfactory. If we do the same this year, it will probably take the same course. I therefore believe the motion of Dr. Guttmacher impracticable and inadvisable.

Rabbi Schulman—I ask for the courtesy of the floor to reply to some of the sweeping statements of Dr. Heller.

The Chair—Dr. Schulman asks for the courtesy of the floor to reply to some of the statements of Rabbi Heller. Will you grant Dr. Schulman this personal privilege? I will put the question.

The motion was put and unanimously agreed to.

Rabbi Schulman—I regret that I am compelled to ask the courtesy of the floor. In the first place, this question is not as fundamental as stated. It is, strictly speaking, a matter of form. This Conference has had the courage of its convictions again and again. The whole history of American Judaism has been a history of courage, from the creation of the Conference until today. We have expressed ourselves again and again openly and clearly and fundamentally on theoretical questions and on practical issues. We have acted and not been afraid. Rabbi Heller's remarks on the so-called anarchy of opinion are malicious. There is consensus of opinion in Reform Judaism.

Rabbi Heller—I did not refer to remarks on the floor of the Conference. But outside of the Conference there are people who tell us all the time that there are as many Judaisms as Rabbis.

Rabbi Schulman—Those remarks are maliciously inspired, intended to cast discredit on Reform Judaism, when as a matter of fact we are in accord on essentials. It is merely a question of form that is involved whenever a pamphlet or tract is issued. Brother Heller maintains that this should express the sentiment of the Conference, whereas as a matter of fact it is the expression

of the individual. But all I understood that Rabbi Gries desired was this, that it is more practical on the whole to continue the course pursued thus far. The simple fact that the Conference has honored a member by accepting a tract written by him, and by issuing it after revision by a smaller committee, is sufficient. Do you mean to tell us that two hundred and fifty men must always be bound by the details of individual expression of any man on any particular subject? No; we simply constitute him an emissary of the Conference. It is no reflection on the speaker, no enfeebling of his message, no imperilling of the authority of the tract, if as a matter of form we simply say, "This is our emissary to the public; he, however, speaks for himself in his own particular way."

The Chair—An idea has occurred to the Chair which should satisfy both sides, viz., that we send out the tract without any foreword at all. We need issue the tract only with the words on the title-page, "Tract No. . . . , issued by the Central Conference of American Rabbis; written by" This is all that is necessary.

Rabbi Cohn—The very fact that we have undertaken to publish tracts in the common acceptation of the term, proves that we have certain ideas which we wish to present to the people in popular form. This is different from laying down certain dogmas and fundamental principles, to which we may commit ourselves some day. The very fact that we have this Committee on Tracts, composed of men representing all shades of opinion, insures us against one-sided presentation. What we have undertaken is not to publish men's individual opinions, but something which we offer as the opinion of the Conference.

Rabbi Fineshreiber—I offer this amendment, that in the publication of the tracts, no foreword be printed and no explanation made.

Seconded and carried.

The original motion was then put and carried.

Rabbi J. Stolz—Inasmuch as this is our first tract, I think some action should be taken in regard to its distribution. We have heard that this committee sent out over 9,000 copies of the tract

to the various newspapers, ministers, and so on. It has not by any means reached the Jewish public. Not a single person has as yet told me that he has received this tract, and only two newspapers have, to my knowledge, taken notice of it. I think it well, while the Conference is in session, to devise some plan of systematic distribution, and to let the members of the Conference know that they can get these tracts in quantities. I think it would be well to get an expression of opinion from the Conference for the guidance of the Executive Committee.

Rabbi Morgenstern—At the last meeting of the Conference a limited sum was authorized for the publication and distribution of tracts. The original plan was to issue more than one tract during the year. However, only the one was issued, for which not quite two hundred dollars were expended. Ten thousand three hundred copies were printed, of which 9,500 were distributed in the following way: Copies were, as a matter of course, first sent to our own members, then to the Jewish press and the leading papers of the country, then to all members of the Jewish Publication Society, some six thousand in all, and the remainder were sent to ministers of the Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist and Christian denominations of certain states, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and others, whose year-books were procurable. But it must be borne in mind that there was no other method of distributing this tract to the Jewish public, because no other lists, as far as we know, are in existence. If you wish to send these tracts to all Jewish people accessible in any way at all, or if you wish to carry out the proper plan of sending them to all the ministers of every denomination in this country, you must bear in mind that this will entail an issue of 100,000 or more. Remembering that we issued about 10,000 copies at a cost of almost two hundred dollars, you will realize the magnitude of this task. In making our plans we must bear in mind the limited state of our finances.

Rabbi J. Stolz—I move that the Committee on Tracts bring before this Conference before adjournment some plan for the distribution of these tracts. Seconded and carried.

Rabbi Kaplan—I move the adoption of the report of the Committee on Tracts. Seconded.

Rabbi Levi—There is an amendment to the constitution involved in this adoption.

The Chair—That is true. This may be considered its first reading, and the amendment may be adopted next year.

The motion was put and carried.

The report of the special Committee on Cleveland Memorial Resolutions was presented by its chairman, Rabbi Foster, and adopted by a rising vote.

RESOLUTIONS IN HONOR OF GROVER CLEVELAND:

Whereas, In the summoning of Grover Cleveland to rejoin his Maker our beloved country has lost a devoted servant and a distinguished citizen; and,

Whereas, The noble services of the departed have been of such a nature as to have won for him a pre-eminent position among the foremost leaders who have influenced this land; and,

Whereas, Grover Cleveland, as President of the United States was ever the friend of liberty, steadfast in his efforts in the cause of freedom for the man and his faith, the proven protector of the persecuted of other lands and faiths; be it therefore

Resolved by the Central Conference of American Rabbis, in convention assembled this fifth day of July 1908, That the memory of the illustrious services rendered by Grover Cleveland is gratefully cherished in the hearts of all loyal citizens of our country, and that in his death the cause of good government has lost an unflinching leader, our Nation a distinguished statesman, humanity an ardent champion; be it therefore further

Resolved, That these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of the Central Conference of American Rabbis and a copy thereof be sent to the bereaved family.

SOLOMON FOSTER.

MARTIN A. MEYER.

JOSEPH KRAUSKOPF.

JONAH B. WISE.

WILLIAM FINESHIREIBER.

Rabbi Gries—There is a question which should be decided before the Committee on Nominations can present its report, viz., an amendment which is pending with reference to the number of officers. The amendment is that the past Presidents of the Conference by virtue of their office shall become members of the Executive Committee. I would like to state both sides of the question, so as to avoid extended discussion. The reason for the

amendment was that it was thought that since no one can serve as President for more than two years, and since naturally their services are desirable as members of the Executive Committee, presently the Executive Committee would be composed almost exclusively of past Presidents and the older men, and the younger members of the Conference would rarely get a chance. The intention was by making the past Presidents ex-officio members of the Executive Board, to give others the opportunity of becoming members. The argument on the other hand is—and this is urged by the younger men themselves—that it is perfectly natural and proper that the older and more experienced men should constitute the Executive Committee, and that after some years we will have so many past Presidents that the Executive Committee would become unwieldy. With this thought in mind, I, as the mover of the amendment, ask the privilege of withdrawing it.

The Chair—Do you grant Rabbi Gries this privilege? (Cries of "Yes, yes.") The amendment is withdrawn. The past Presidents will have to be elected to the Executive Committee like any other member.

Rabbi Mendel Silber then read his paper on Intermarriage (v. Appendix G). The discussion was participated in by Rabbis Kohler, Schulman, Neumark, Heller, Gries, Kahn, Weiss, Kaplan, Hirshberg, Enelow, Levi, J. Stolz, and Ellinger, and was closed by Rabbi Silber.

Rabbi Heller—In order that this discussion may lead to something, I offer this resolution, that the Executive Committee be instructed to arrange for the presentation of the subject of intermarriage from a historical, philosophical and practical standpoint, by various members of this Conference. My idea is tentative. For example, the Executive Committee might appoint some member to present the subject from the Biblical standpoint, another from the Talmudic, and a third to present the whole subject historically. A fourth paper might be devoted to a statement of the treatment of the subject by Synods and Conferences of the nineteenth century. The subject should be presented in its modern statistical and practical aspect. Perhaps, however, it would be best not to direct the Executive Committee so specifically, but merely to in-

struct them to provide for a thorough presentation of the subject in a number of papers, with a view to guiding the Conference to some final action on the subject.

The resolution was put in the form of a motion and seconded.

Rabbi Stern—I will add that next year we have a Round Table Discussion on the practical side of the question.

The Chair—The Executive Committee will take this into consideration.

Rabbi Schulman—I have some misgivings about the wisdom of this. It might produce a literature which would be very wearisome. Just think of it, five papers on one subject!

Rabbi Heller—Short ones. Different aspects of the same subject. Carried.

Adjourned.

SUNDAY EVENING, JULY 5, 1908.

The Round Table on "The Rabbi's Pastoral Work" was led by Rabbi F. Cohn and participated in by Rabbis Kohler, Kaplan, Wise, Berkowitz, Rypins, J. H. Stolz, Foster, Heller, Leipziger, Jasin and Neumark.

The Round Table on "How to Conduct a Bible Class" was led by Rabbi Adolph Guttmacher and discussed by Rabbis Rauch and Berkowitz.

MONDAY MORNING, JULY 6, 1908.

The Conference was opened with prayer by Rabbi Max C. Currick.

The minutes of the preceding session were read and approved.

The report of the Committee on Religious Work in Universities was presented by its chairman, Rabbi Moses J. Gries.

Rabbi Gries—The Committee on Religious Work in Universities consists of Englander, Godshaw, Guttmacher, Lyons, Zepin and myself. It has been unable to meet anywhere except here, the three members present being Guttmacher, Zepin and myself. The committee during the year sent out an inquiry to ascertain certain facts, upon the basis of which Rabbi Zepin, as secretary of the

committee, was instructed to prepare a report. As a matter of interest to the members, this was the nature of the questions sent out. We asked the different Rabbis located near important colleges, how many Jewish students there were there, men and women; what relations existed between Rabbi and students; whether the latter manifested any desire for religious life, and whether they, the students, had any suggestions to offer. To this inquiry, sent to thirty-two Rabbis, there were seventeen answers. The report is as follows:

JULY 4, 1908.

Central Conference of American Rabbis:

GENTLEMEN: Your Committee on Religious Work in Universities begs leave to hand to you the following report:

During the year we have sent out a circular of inquiry to Rabbis in communities near the large colleges of the country asking for several items of information with reference to the number of Jewish students, the existence of Jewish organizations among these Jewish students, and with reference to the attitude of their fellow-students towards the Jewish young men; also concerning the relationship between students and Rabbis.

From replies received thus far we have learned of a number of universities where Jewish students attend. Of these, however, only five have Jewish students in considerable numbers. At Harvard a society called the Menorah Society has been in existence for almost two years. They have entertained a number of Jewish lecturers during the winter season, and at one time made preparations to give a Jewish play. At Chicago University there is a Maimonides Club, whose activities are somewhat similar. At the University of Illinois, in Urbana, a society of the Jewish students exists, and is pursuing one of the Chautauqua courses. The University of Minnesota, in St. Paul, has a similar society. The Rabbis of St. Paul lecture to this organization occasionally, and the men pursue studies along various Jewish lines. At Yale we have heard of the recent formation of the Hebraic Club. Our reply from Baltimore called attention to a unique and effective way of getting into contact with the Jewish students. The students being few in numbers are invited periodically to the minister's home for meals. This has led to their attendance at services, and also to their identification with various Jewish local movements.

Reviewing the facts submitted in these reports, we recommend to the Central Conference of American Rabbis, that,

First—The Conference address a communication to the U. of A. H. C. congratulating that body upon undertaking to send organizers to the university centers, and assuring the Union of our desire to co-operate in any undertaking for the furtherance of these aims.

Second—That the Conference Secretary, or that the Committee on Religious Work in Universities, if this committee be continued, should address a letter to all ministers near university towns advising them of the work accomplished in other cities. This communication should urge them not to wait for invitation, but to make a strong effort to establish friendly social relations with the Jewish students; to organize intellectual circles, and to endeavor to interest these students in Sabbath school and settlement work. The result of this will be to create an interest in things Jewish, to foster manly Jewish self-respect and to stimulate enthusiasm for our cause.

We advise specifically that a special invitation be sent to each student to attend the synagogue especially during holidays.

M. J. GRIES.
GEORGE ZEPIN.

Rabbi Levi moved that the report be received, its recommendations adopted and a new Committee on Religious Work in Universities appointed. Seconded.

Rabbi Heller—I would like to have added to the title of the committee the words, "And other schools."

The Chair—That will be referred to the Executive Committee. The motion of Rabbi Levi was put and carried.

In place of a regular report from the Committee on the Instruction of the Blind, Deaf Mutes, etc., the following letter from its chairman to the Corresponding Secretary was read:

Inasmuch as the Committee on Instruction of the Deaf, Dumb, etc., was late in planning its work, and found the labor devolving on it larger in scope and more complex in detail than at first contemplated, I am unable in its name to present a definite report for this session, and crave more time and a far larger committee.

Yours very truly,

ABRAM SIMON, *Chairman*.

Rabbi Kornfeld was given the floor to make a privileged statement. In conclusion he moved that the Executive Committee be instructed to enter into communication with the various Jewish charitable organizations of the country, asking for an appropriation for the payment of a Jewish chaplain wherever there is none. Seconded.

Rabbi J. H. Stolz—I amend, that we enter into communication with the various Jewish charitable organizations of the country.

Rabbi Guttmacher—At Baltimore the Council of Jewish Women has undertaken work along these lines, and so we might include the Council of Jewish Women.

The Chair—Suppose the communication be sent to the National Conference of Jewish Charities.

Rabbi Stern—It may perhaps be advisable to see that chaplains be appointed by the state, if possible, because a man who is a state official has the advantage of being officially recognized in the corrective institutions of the state. He can go anywhere in the state, and do whatever he wants as an officer, whereas a private person, appointed by the charity organizations, will be limited in the scope of his work.

The Chair—You are the state chaplain of New Jersey, are you not?

Rabbi Stern—Yes, sir.

The Chair—Are you appointed by the governor?

Rabbi Stern—I am appointed by the prison authorities acting for the governor.

Rabbi Heller—I wish to ask for information. I am not at all clear on this subject. Was there a committee appointed on this work of prisons, delinquents, and so on, to look into conditions?

Rabbi Kornfeld—Yes; I was on that committee; I am not chairman of it.

Rabbi Heller—Do I understand that the committee has a report?

Rabbi Kornfeld—The chairman has not yet made an official report.

Rabbi Heller—When was this committee appointed?

The Chair—In October.

Rabbi Heller—And has brought no report! Then I would like to offer a substitute motion, which may not increase my popularity, but which I think is in place, viz., that this committee be discharged.

Rabbi Morgenstern—I would like to say, speaking on the motion before the house, and also with reference to the suggestion that we endeavor to have state chaplains appointed, that the suggestion is good. However, in these few minutes of discussion we have had several suggestions presented, involving matters of which

we were formerly unaware. I therefore move that the entire matter be referred back to the committee. Seconded and carried.

The report of the Committee on Religious Schools was presented.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS.

To the President and Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis:

GENTLEMEN—Under present conditions the report of the Committee on Religious Schools must be of an academic character. The schools throughout the country are independent of each other, and there is as yet no organization that brings them together for co-ordinated activity. Not even this Conference, constituted as it is of the superintendents of these schools, has been able to establish any uniformity of either aim or method. The obvious need of a reform in this serious concern of the Rabbinate and the communities of this country shows itself in the attempts made sporadically to get at it by at least preparatory inquiries and circular letters for statistics and for details as to what is being done in various localities. The time has come, however, when there is promise of constructive work, and it is entirely within the province of this Conference to do it. It may be that this session of the Conference will succeed in determining a plan for bringing the schools into more direct relation with one another and thus achieve the first step toward organization. The teaching side of the Rabbi's duty is as essential as the preaching side (and more), and it is entirely in keeping with the spirit and object of this Conference to take hold of the subjects of Religious Instruction and of Religious Schools and make them more effective.

The chairman regrets to state that he has been unable to obtain a response from several members of this committee, and he submits the replies he has received from Dr. A. S. Isaacs and Rabbi M. N. A. Cohen.

Dr. Isaacs says:

1. As to causes that keep children out of the Religious Schools:

- (a) The non-religious atmosphere of the home.
- (b) The lack of attractive influence in the school, both in the schedule of study and the character of instruction.

To provide a remedy for (a) I am powerless. The evil lies partly in the environment and partly in the blunting of the sense of responsibility. But where there is no religious atmosphere in the home, rich and poor, you cannot expect the child to attend a religious school.

2. To provide a remedy for (b) would involve the writing of a lengthy treatise. To attract the child there must be a winning personality in the teacher, who must go out to meet the child in affection. The subjects of instruction must appeal to the child as eminently vital. He must see in his teacher the practical enforcement of the religion taught.

But back of everything must be a home atmosphere. Pulpit and school are powerless when that atmosphere does not spell Judaism and its universals. Our schools cannot improve in effectiveness if the home is the negation of the synagogue. All our colleagues agree in this.

Only two methods are possible in the emergency: (1) A more drastic and systematic teaching of the young, not for an hour a week, but four to six times weekly, as a vital obligation by which they will become saturated with Judaism, its history, prayers, literature, say from the age of 5 to 15; (2) A system of home study for adults, which shall embody some original method, if the Chautauqua idea cannot be improved upon.

I believe the time is ripe to break away from the Religious School as at present conducted, which is largely rose-water and froth (with some gratifying exceptions). Let the school system be extended to the week at all hazards, and knowledge, not sentiment, be the war-cry. Let reverence for the teacher grow and the school as a genuine school be founded. When the public sees earnestness and reality, even those who stand aloof shall be drawn within. And our children in ten years will show the harvest.

To summarize: As things are at present, unless the home is on our side, the child will not come. If the home is on our side, the child is more apt to come and stay, if kindly methods prevail, and the teacher's personality and the genuineness of the instruction are above reproach.

To secure permanent results, the Religious School must be more than a Sunday hour. It must extend over the entire week, at least two hours daily, four to six days, with graded course. Then we can reasonably expect our children to become Jews. There can be no compromise.

Rabbi M. N. A. Cohen says:

As regards the problem of school registration of such children as are outside of religious influence and get no religious training, I would say, in the first place, that the causes which operate to keep them out are parental carelessness and non-church affiliation. The spirit of "don't care" prevails. The home is a religious graveyard. They may have become unimpressionable, and where not so, by religious influence from outside, may become reactionary. A wholesome change could be effected by interesting the parents, by appeal to memory and sentiment, and then to reason and Jewish historical continuity.

In large cities the registration problem presents great difficulties. In smaller cities it is not so great, as the teachers are better able to canvass the situation and to interest by some means or other, the promise of an entertainment or some other non-ethical method. *Mithoch sh'lo lishmo ba lishmo*. Here the end justifies the means. To meet the proposition as a whole it would require state legislation, whereby each child will have to attend some religious school for religious and moral training. Upon school registration it would be asked if it attends a particular school or has any kind of religious

or moral instruction. I am writing serially on this matter in the "Jewish Outlook." But I believe I have made things pretty clear. I can see no way except this one of getting around the problem effectively, a way suggested to me by a Unitarian colleague in this city.

By taking the step of assisting in the organization of the American Sabbath Schools, as represented in this Conference of American Rabbis, we would be rendering a timely service to them and to American Judaism, which is becoming daily more dependent upon the Sabbath School teaching and influence. There is no agency in American Judaism now at work which will determine its character as will the religious school, and it would be the part not only of foresight, but also of self-protection to give to the subject of religious instruction our most scrupulous thought and effort.

Respectfully submitted,

LOUIS GROSSMANN, *Chairman.*

NOTE.—An exhibit of Sabbath-school equipment was found impracticable on account of the considerable expense it involves.

The Chair—There are no recommendations in this report. Hence we have nothing before us. What is your pleasure?

Rabbi Kory—I move that the report be received and printed in the Year Book, with the omission of the letters. Seconded.

Rabbi Gries—I want to ask a question for information. Is it customary to print reports in extenso, just as they are submitted.

The Chair—Yes. I think we should receive the report, as usual, and request the committee to make the revision. The report will take the usual course after being received.

Rabbi Morgenstern—I amend that the report be received and printed, and the committee discharged. Seconded and carried.

Rabbi Gries—I wish to present something referring to religious schools, viz., the matter of a Sabbath School exhibit. I noted that the committee declared that they could not arrange for an exhibit because of the expense involved. I am greatly disappointed, because I expected to see a splendid exhibit here. It does not cost much. We in Cleveland have gotten one up at a very small cost within this very year, for the meeting of the Jewish Religious Educational Association of Ohio. We had a splendid exhibit, prepared in less than a month. We had a fine collection of books, pictures and other material. And with a proper committee, sufficient time, and the influence of the Conference behind it, I am sure

that we could get a permanent exhibit that would be of increasing value. Therefore I move that the Executive Committee be instructed to appoint a Committee on Exhibit of Religious School Material. Seconded.

Rabbi Gries—May I say a word to open the discussion? I believe from my experience that it would be possible to get publishers of books, pictures and other school material to contribute books and pictures for a permanent exhibit. This could be located, say at Cincinnati, where it would be available for the use of the students of the College as well as for our members.

The motion of Rabbi Gries was put and carried unanimously.

The report of the special Committee on Religious Schools was presented by its Chairman, Rabbi Kornfeld.

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS.

To the Honorable President and Members of the C. C. of A. R.:

The Special Committee on Religious Schools begs leave to submit the following report:

In view of the all-important place the Religious School has ever occupied in Judaism, Talmud Torah having always been regarded as of paramount importance, and therefore being of prime concern to every Jewish minister, this committee respectfully recommends that at each annual Conference one half day be set aside for the general discussion of religious school problems exclusively.

2. We further recommend that immediate steps be taken by this Conference to remedy the chaotic conditions that obtain in our religious schools due, in great measure, to the lack of uniformity in the courses of study and to the large variety of text-books used. As the first step to remedy this evil, we recommend that the Conference instruct the Sabbath School Committee to review as soon as possible the work that has already been done along these lines by previous committees, and thereupon specify what branches of study should be taught in all our religious schools from entrance to graduation; this done, that the Conference undertake to select or to publish text-books in the several branches decided upon, which in course of time may occupy in our religious schools the same high position which the Union Prayer Book now occupies in our synagogue.

3. We further recommend that the work in our religious schools be so graded that a certificate of standing given by the religious school of a com-

munity using the system devised by the Conference will insure the child admittance into a corresponding class of any religious school of the land having the same system. We shall thereby put our Sabbath School in its work on the same basis of discipline and efficiency as the public schools are in their way.

4. We further recommend as a temporary measure that the Sabbath School Committee avail themselves at once of the columns of "Young Israel" to publish tentatively weekly lessons in accordance with the plan herein suggested; these lessons to be later published in book form, should they meet with the approval of the Conference.

Respectfully submitted,

JOS. S. KORNFELD,
EMANUEL KAHN,
FREDERICK COHN,
DAVID ALEXANDER,
M. NEWFIELD,
JACOB H. KAPLAN.

Rabbi Leipziger—I move that the report be received and taken up seriatim.

Seconded and carried.

The first recommendation was adopted.

The second recommendation was read.

Rabbi Levi—I move you as a substitute for this recommendation that the Committee on Religious Schools be instructed to report on a curriculum and text book at the next Conference.

Rabbi Meyer—I move that a special committee be appointed on curriculum and text books. You are putting too much work on the Committee on Religious Schools.

Rabbi Morgenstern—These matters are all related and can therefore be best worked out through subcommittees of the Committee on Religious Schools. I move, therefore, that a large Committee on Religious Schools be appointed, with the instruction or advice to work out these suggestions through subcommittees. Seconded and carried.

The third recommendation was read.

Rabbi Enelow—I move that this paragraph be referred to a committee to be appointed by the incoming Executive Committee.

Seconded and carried.

On motion of Rabbi Levi, duly seconded, the report as a whole was adopted as amended.

The report of the Committee on Church and State was presented by the Chairman, Rabbi David Lefkowitz.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CHURCH AND STATE.

To the President and Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis:

Your Committee on Church and State begs leave to report as follows:

In looking over the work suggested to the committee by the Conference of last year, it was noted that the committee was charged with three duties. The first was to keep in touch with all efforts made in the country to combat sectarianism in all matters of public policy. Only a general survey of this subject can be made in a report of this kind. Sectarian legislation and practice easily separate into two classes: first, into Sunday-rest legislation, and second, sectarianism in the public schools. As to the first class, we are able to state that on April 13th of this year, at Mobile, Ala., Judge Jules E. Alford declared the Alabama law against Sunday amusements to be unconstitutional. In California a movement has been begun to engraft upon the constitution of the state a Sunday-rest law. But the Alabama and California instances are only preliminary to the campaign about to be launched by the American Sabbath Union for a national Sunday law. This was announced by the secretary of the American Sabbath Union, Rev. F. J. Stanley, of New York. On the 25th of November, 1907, seventy-two members of the Protestant and Catholic clergy met at Washington to inaugurate an active campaign, and a communication from Cardinal Gibbons was read pledging the co-operation and best efforts of the Catholic Church. This is significant and portentous news, as it is the first time that the Catholic Church in America appears in the camp of the agitators for Sunday-rest legislation. Aggressively opposed to this camp stand the Seventh Day Adventists, who look to the Jews to unite with them in some way. If, therefore, any member of the Conference receives in his mail, as he may the coming year, a plea from the Seventh Day Adventists for signature to petitions against this sort of national legislation, let him help the cause at least by acceding to this request.

As to sectarianism in the public schools, there has been much agitation in the past year, especially directed against Christmas exercises, hymns and poems. The New York protest and its aftermath of vituperation and insolent innuendo, as also the anti-protests of some of the New York Rabbinate, were given almost national prominence and publicity. The Cincinnati affair was also noticed in the press of all the land. Bible-reading in some of the schools also figured in some of the agitation. In Chicago the Women's Educational Union petitioned that Bible-reading be introduced, but was un-

successful, the school board deciding against them. In Oklahoma a bill was introduced in the legislature to have the Bible read in the public schools. Our traveling library on sectarianism and 150 copies of the pamphlet, "Why the Bible Should Not be Read in the Public Schools," were hastily shipped to the local representative of the Conference, who appeared before the state legislature. So far we have not heard how the matter stands. In Los Angeles a test case is to be made in the courts on the part of the advocates of Bible-reading in the public schools, and funds for the retention of prominent attorneys to represent them have already been subscribed. Our member at Los Angeles has been in communication with the committee, and will no doubt in the early fall see to it that the cause of non-sectarianism will be properly represented by legal talent. In El Paso the question was threshed out in the local press, and then came before the school board, which ordered the elimination of all Bible-reading in the various schools of the city. Our committee was consulted in a number of other cases, and lent all the assistance in its power.

With the many experiences that have come to our notice, we would suggest that the Committee on Church and State for the coming year get into communication with the various publishing houses of text-books, urging upon them the elimination of all sectarian features in the text-books of their publications, especially the text-books of music.

After the untoward happenings in a number of cases last year, when protest and anti-protest issued almost simultaneously out of the Jewish camp, showing to the world a broken front and disunited camp, we would emphatically urge that before a protest is lodged, there be an attempt made to secure unanimity of policy by the various leaders in a community.*

The second duty laid upon the committee was to put before the Conference the status of sectarianism in the elementary schools of the land. We sent out a questionnaire on this subject to all the members, and received only forty-three answers; but these answers cover the conditions in twenty-six states and forty cities. A glance at the answers showed that little could be learned from them as to state legislation and test cases, very few showing any decided knowledge on these matters, the reports from members of the same state being at times contradictory. The committee will have to turn next year to other sources, which we know exist, for this special information, which then should be brought before the Conference. To the other questions, however, reliable answers were received. Out of forty cities represented in the answers, twenty-six have no Bible-reading—rather a larger percentage than was at first supposed to exist. Nearly all (thirty-

*The last part of this sentence, beginning, "We would emphatically urge," was amended to read: "We recommend and earnestly plead with the representatives of Jewish opinion that unanimity be sought before action is taken."

two), on the other hand, report the singing of Christological hymns, and sixteen the recitation of sectarian poems. During the year twenty-two protests against sectarianism were lodged, fifteen of these privately and seven coming to the notice of the public by means of the press, or given publicly to the Board of Education. In those twenty-two cases only a few were fully successful, most of them partially so. Many of our correspondents urge the wisdom of private protest as opposed to public agitation. In eight of these protests the pamphlet, "Why the Bible," etc., was used and distributed.

The third task of the committee was the preparation of a pamphlet on the general subject, "Is This a Christian Country?" Some very good material for such a pamphlet is already in existence, but in such a form as makes it impossible to use it for our purposes. The committee hereby recommends that a series of pamphlets on this subject, three or four in number, shall be published during the coming year, consisting of: (1) Marshall's paper on this subject, along with that of Rev. Wasson, an Episcopalian clergyman; (2) Rabbi Frisch's pamphlet on this subject; (3) Herbert Friedenwald's, read before the American Jewish Historical Society. We recommend this series of three, so that none be too bulky, and that they may be used successively one after the other.

The traveling library on sectarianism, in charge of the chairman of the committee, has been used a number of times this year, especially by the Rabbi from Denver, Colorado, and the Rabbi of Oklahoma City. We recommend that the committee be authorized to purchase for the library, with the approval of the Executive Committee, copies of additional books already published, as they are met with, and such other books as may appear, and that a list of books in this library be drawn up and sent to the members of the Conference.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) DAVID LEFKOWITZ, *Chairman*,
CHARLES J. FREUND,
JONAH B. WISE,
SOL. L. KORY,
I. E. MARCUSON,
EPHRAIM FRISCH.

The Chair—We will take up the report seriatim.

Rabbi Heller—I would like to ask the Chairman of this committee if he mentioned anything about the battle before the New York legislature regarding Sunday observance.

Rabbi Lefkowitz—No, I did not mention that.

Rabbi Heller—I would like to know whether he is aware that just

this last week, before the National Educational Association of this country in Cleveland, the subject of the Bible in the public schools was discussed at length, and the sentiment seemed to favor the introduction of the Bible into the public schools.

Rabbi Gries—Where did you get that information?

Rabbi Heller—I saw that in last Thursday's papers.

Rabbi Gries—I don't think that is correct. I was in Cleveland at the time.

Rabbi Newfield—The Chairman of the committee made a statement referring to the Alabama law, which, I believe, is not quite correct. The Sunday law as a whole has not been declared unconstitutional. Only certain parts, because of the verbiage, were declared unconstitutional by one of the lower courts. It is not advisable to have these things in our year books as positive statements. Only those sections referring to baseball and golf were declared unconstitutional. The other sections were not passed on.

The Chair—Will you inform the Chairman of the committee of the exact state of the case?

Rabbi Stern—Would it be within the province of this committee to combat the making of official holidays of Christian holy days? Let me cite a specific case. In New Jersey very recently Good Friday was made a state holiday. There was much opposition on the part of the best men in the state, but the people controlled by Protestantism succeeded in making this a law.

The Chair—Was the law submitted to the people?

Rabbi Stern—It was not. It was before the legislature. Had there been a strong protest on the part of the Jews of the state I believe that the law would not have carried.

Rabbi J. Stolz—With your permission I will read the section of our constitution defining the duties of the Committee on Church and State. (c. By-Laws, Art. III, Sec. 5; p. 22.)

The Chair—It is within the scope of this committee to attempt anything that will voice the sentiment of this Conference.

Rabbi Schulman—The question is whether, if the overwhelming sentiment of the Christian people favor such a law, it would be advisable for us to oppose it?

The Chair—That is a different point. The Committee on Church and State should not do anything on its own initiative, but first report to the Conference.

Rabbi Gries—My attention is called to something that belongs to this committee, but is not included in its report. We always have difficulty with the schools and colleges in the fixing of days for examination. Every now and then these fall on our holidays. This has been a source of a great deal of inconvenience and annoyance to our young people. It does no good to protest against this post-facto. This always brings forth the answer from the authorities that they were sorry, but they cannot change the days. There is, however, a plan that has worked. I have made it my personal business to write every year to Western Reserve University, Case School of Applied Science in Cleveland and to Ohio State University in Columbus—I don't do that any more, now that Kornfeld is there—and to the public schools of Cleveland, informing them of the dates of the Jewish holidays and asking them to refrain from setting examinations on those days. They have always answered that they were pleased to do it and thanked me for calling their attention to the matter.

Recommendation I of the committee's report was adopted unanimously.

Recommendation II was then read.

Rabbi Schulman—This is a very important matter. Of course we all would like to see this wish realized. But it is dangerous to pass such a resolution, that would be binding upon all the members of the Conference. You may live in a large city, where it is absolutely necessary to go ahead and protest, if you have three-quarters of the community behind you. Your conscience may compel you to take a stand for the rights of the Jew, even though half of the Jewish community, either from lack of knowledge or from lack of moral courage, does not arise to its opportunity to manifest its sense of duty and self-sacrifice and loyalty to the cause of Israel. If you pass such a resolution you practically tie the hands—

Rabbi Lefkowitz—It is only a recommendation, not a resolution.

Rabbi Schulman—It says, "we would emphatically urge." I object to the conclusion in which you seem to criticise the action of a

fraction of the Jewish community. If your recommendation would read, "we recommend and earnestly plead with the representatives of Jewish opinion that unanimity be sought before action is taken," I am satisfied, but do not shut the door to men who have the moral courage to fight for what they think right, because forsooth they cannot get everybody in the community to act with them. We cannot expect unanimity on these themes even in Jewish sentiment. The best you can do is to aggressively and conscientiously represent the Jewish cause. But steps have been taken to unify Jewish public sentiment in New York as an outcome of this very division. Therefore say nothing in your resolution that may seem to reflect upon the action of men, who may be taking their lives in their own hands by opposing the most powerful people in that community because of the irresistible spur of their own conscience.

Rabbi Lefkowitz—The committee accepts your suggestion and will make the change.

The second recommendation was adopted with this change in the reading.

Action on recommendation III was deferred until after the presentation of the report of the Committee on President's Message.

Recommendation IV was then read.

Rabbi Gries—Will the Chairman include the list of the books he has so that we may know what they are?

Recommendation IV was adopted.

The Chair—We will now take up the report of the Committee on President's Message. Further consideration of the report of the Committee on Church and State will be deferred until they bring in their amended report tomorrow morning.

The Vice-President takes the chair.

The report of the Committee on President's Message was then read by the Chairman, Rabbi J. Stolz, and on motion was taken up seriatim.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Central Conference of American Rabbis:

GENTLEMEN—Your Committee on the President's Message begs leave to submit the following report:

In accord with the spirit of the message, we desire to endorse the President's conception of the function of our Conference in American Judaism, to wit, "That it ever remain and continue to be a positive agency for the strengthening of the Jewish spirit, a constructive power that shall successfully grapple with the many perplexing problems that are constantly confronting us, a true, representative, religious organization of American Jewry; that it build firmly on the past foundations and be ever mindful of the demand of the present; that it work hand in hand with the many splendid associations in our variegated Jewish activity, with thought ever directed to the realization of the prophetic programme of a '*b'rith am, or goyim*,' to the end that Judaism may in all truth become the light of the world through the devoted service of the covenant people, Israel, God's servant."

2. We wish to congratulate the President and the members of the Executive Committee on the splendid record of work accomplished during the past year, and in particular approve of the further publication of tracts such as the one "What Do Jews Believe?" prepared by Dr. Enelow, and suggest that contributions be invited to a special fund to be created for this purpose:

3. We heartily indorse the suggestion that the preparation and distribution of a summary of each year's work be made a feature of our propaganda, and recommend that the summary be sent simultaneously to the Rabbis and officers of the congregations about September 1, accompanied by a letter to the officers requesting that they take official cognizance thereof.

4. The recommendation of the President relating to the proposed Bible translation in co-operation with the Jewish Publication Society of America has received most careful consideration on the part of your committee. We wish to express our gratification at the proposed co-operation between two such representative bodies in American Jewry. We, therefore, recommend the reconsideration of the resolution of last year's Conference as to the negotiations with the Oxford University Press; and further, we indorse the negotiations so far carried on between the officers of the Central Conference of American Rabbis and of the Jewish Publication Society of America, and we would suggest that the three representatives of the Central Conference of American Rabbis on the Board of Editors be appointed by the Executive Committee.

5. With reference to the suggestion that the Committee on Church and State be instructed to issue tracts as proposed by the President, (a) "Is This a Christian Country?" (b) "The Jew in America," your committee would suggest that we make haste slowly. The field of American Jewish history is ably covered by a sister organization, and the issuance of a sketch of this nature by us would be at present unnecessary. The first topic proposed, however, is one of such great moment that it demands far more elaborate treatment than would be possible within the limits of a tract. We, therefore, recommend that our Conference, through its Committee on Church and State,

co-operate with other existing national Jewish organizations in the preparation of an adequate work on the subject.

6. We commend the action of the Conference in gratuitously supplying prayer books and other religious literature to the various penal, corrective and philanthropic institutions, and would suggest that we make it better known that we stand ready to supply all such institutions as may apply to us in the future as in the past; and that the Executive Committee devise rules regulating the distribution of our publications.

7. As for the reference in our President's message to fostering the Jewish spirit in Jewish institutions, we consider it the duty of all such institutions carefully to consider the religious convictions of their beneficiaries, and when the latter desire the observance of Kashruth and other religious usages that proper provision should be made for meeting these needs as far as possible, and that the Central Conference of American Rabbis urges its members to exert their influence to that end whenever occasion arises.

8. Inasmuch as it is not possible to carry out the recommendation for holding summer services at a summer resort this summer, we suggest that the matter be placed in the hands of a committee for investigation, and that such committee seek the co-operation of the Synagogue Extension Department of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations to that end.

9. The matter of the publication of a journal under the auspices of the Conference has been broached on several previous occasions. The committee does not think that an annual would meet the existing needs, and would, therefore, recommend that a committee be appointed to look into the matter, to determine the feasibility of publishing a monthly or bi-monthly journal under the auspices of the Conference, but through an outside publishing firm, so that we assume no financial responsibility.

10. We commend the action of the Bene Jeshurun Congregation of Cincinnati, Ohio, and Congregation Emanuel of Milwaukee, Wis., and of Mr. and Mrs. Louis and M. L. Altheimer, of Little Rock, Ark., in contributing to the Superannuated Ministers' Fund; and would recommend that in sending out the summary of this year's work a special appeal be made to our congregations; also, that our members should endeavor to interest the wealthy men of their community in this worthy cause.

11. The creation of a standing Committee on Appropriations is approved, and the necessary amendment to the constitution is hereby moved.*

12. The Conference approves all missionary movements within Judaism to re-Judaize and reclaim for our faith the Fallashas and other estranged bodies throughout the world. At present, however, there appears to be an unfortunate misunderstanding between the various European agencies interested in this work. We, therefore, recommend to the incoming Executive Committee that it follow the progress of the movement and report to the Conference when occasion serves.

*This article was amended. v. pp. 100 ff.

13. We recommend that we express our sympathy with all movements in state and Federal legislation that endeavor to abolish child labor, as well as with all movements that make for the proper development of child life through education and recreation; and we urge upon the members of the Conference actively to advance the cause of the child in our country.**

Respectfully submitted,

JOSEPH STOLZ, *Chairman*,
A. GUTTMACHER.
MAX HELLER.
SOLOMON FOSTER.
ISAAC L. RYPINS.
HENRY BERKOWITZ.
CHARLES S. LEVI.
JOSEPH KRAUSKOPF.
WM. ROSENAU.
FREDERICK COHN.
DR. K. KOHLER.
H. G. ENELOW.
S. SCHULMAN.

MARTIN A. MEYER, *Secretary*.

**This article was amended by the addition of the words, "We further recommend that a copy of this section be sent to all interested organizations.

Recommendation I was adopted.

Recommendation II was read.

Rabbi Levi—I amend to read, "That a tract fund be created by appealing to co-religionists throughout the land." Seconded.

Rabbi Meyer—I move as a substitute that the consideration of this section of the report be deferred and be discussed in conjunction with the report of the Committee on Tracts. Seconded and carried.

Recommendation III was adopted.

Recommendation IV was read.

The Chair—This section contains three recommendations. Do you wish to vote on them separately or jointly?

Cries of "jointly."

Recommendation IV was adopted.

Recommendation V was read.

The Chair—This recommendation comes in connection with the report of the Committee on Church and State, which was postponed

until this time. The Committee on Church and State recommends the republication of three pamphlets. As against this the Committee on President's Message recommends that we place ourselves in communication with such national societies as have pursued the same line of work with a view to producing a book that shall give in connected form the existing material on this question. These two recommendations are before you.

Rabbi Kory—As a member of the Committee on Church and State I ask the personal privilege of having the Chairman of our committee read the correspondence which induced the committee to make this recommendation.

Rabbi Lefkowitz—I will not read all of the rather voluminous correspondence I have had in connection with these proposed pamphlets. But as the Conference seems to be opposed to a number of pamphlets I will read Dr. Herbert Friedenwald's letter, in which the suggestion is made that his essay will include the material touched upon by the various writers on the subject, "Is This a Christian Country?" and so could be used in place of them all. His letter reads: I do not wish to appear as criticising your excellent proposition, nor to undervalue the work of the other gentlemen whose articles you propose to include in your pamphlet; but inasmuch as my paper, when completed, will be the most elaborate treatise on the subject that has ever been undertaken, with full citation of authorities and presenting a view not hitherto given, it would seem to me advisable that if you could see your way clear to do so, that you delay the publication of your pamphlet until after my article shall have been published by the Historical Society.

"It is my expectation that the article will be completed early in the fall, and I have no doubt that arrangements can be made with the Historical Society to allow you to have an advance copy, so that it may be possible that your pamphlet and our publication may be issued simultaneously.

"I am very much interested in this subject and am desirous of making my article as nearly as possible an exhaustive treatment of the subject. With that object in view I shall incorporate everything in the articles by Mr. Marshall, Rabbi Frisch and Messrs. Hassler and Krauss that is pertinent. Therefore, I think that you

will find that unless you wish to give the views of others besides myself, my article will fully cover the ground.

"Assuring you of my entire willingness to co-operate with you in this, as in any other work of a similar character, etc., etc."

The Chair—A motion is now in order.

The President—Of course I will not set up my opinion against the combined wisdom of fourteen of the best members of this Conference. But I wish to explain why I recommended the publication of a tract on the subject, "The Jew in America." It is true that there have been many publications on the achievements of the Jew in the United States, notably by the American Jewish Historical Association. But these are long essays and are not circulated largely in the country. I was led to make this recommendation because of an experience last winter. A Christian clergyman had the impertinence to say that this was not our country, that we Jews were aliens and should be happy that we are permitted to live here. I preached a sermon intended as an answer to this. In that sermon I simply heaped up illustrations of what the Jew had done in America. I was approached by many non-Jews, who told me that they had had no idea that the Jews had done all those things. I also received numerous letters, one from a lawyer, saying that no Jews had ever done those things, because there was no mention of them in their general histories or encyclopedias. It then occurred to me that if we would prepare a brief tract, setting forth in paragraphs the things that the Jews have done in this country and spread it broadcast, this would give a great weapon into our hands and silence many slanders. This is why I recommended the publication.

The Chair—There is no motion before the house, and there is no necessary antagonism between the report of the Committee on Church and State and that of the Committee on President's Message. You may adopt or reject both as you deem wise.

Rabbi Schulman—I will end my remarks with a motion. The feeling of the Committee on President's Message, as far as I can interpret it, was that we thought that just now was the proper time to allay somewhat the agitation and not to publish new pamphlets, nor republish old pamphlets for the present. But, the committee is aware of the importance of the matter, and therefore made the

recommendation that the subject, "Is This a Christian Country?" be handled in a thoroughgoing manner in a book which will be popular and at the same time complete and exhaustive. With respect to the other recommendation I agree to a great extent with the views of the previous speaker, and I am more and more convinced of the efficacy of the tract. After delivering an address in Boston one Sunday a man arose and said in the old stock manner that the Jews were the only settlers of this country who in the Civil War had not done a thing. I took the trouble to inform him in detail of the part the Jews had played in that war. I believe in the efficacy of such a tract, but for the present we ought not issue any more pamphlets on the subject. It is rather indelicate to issue a tract, for example, telling what the Jew has done in America. What we really need is a first-class reference work, available to every man, who is called upon to defend the Jews or the Jewish cause. Now with respect to the two propositions made by the Committees on Church and State and on President's Message, I would not republish anything except the pamphlet of Dr. Wasson. This man is a remarkable personality. He is an Episcopalian minister who has gone out of his way time and again to plead the cause of the Jew in a manner which is really refreshing. We should show our appreciation by republishing his pamphlet. I therefore move that we republish the pamphlet of the Rev. Dr. Wasson; that we decline to publish any other pamphlet, and that we adopt the suggestion of the Committee on President's Message.

Rabbi Weiss—I fully coincide with the opinion of Dr. Philipson as to the need of a tract on "The Jew in America."

Rabbi Enelow—I move that this part of the report of the Committee on President's Message be referred to the Committee on Tracts.

Rabbi Gries—I would offer a substitute motion, that we prepare a work on "Is This a Christian Country?" as recommended by the Committee on President's Message, and that we instruct the Committee on Tracts to have prepared for us a tract on "The Jew in America." Seconded.

Rabbi Bernstein—The speakers seem to forget that this is not an academic nor a historical, but a practical question. It is an effort

to disabuse the minds of those who have such erroneous views on the subject, "Is This a Christian Country?" Now I believe that we can do much more effective work privately than by public discussion. If we print the pamphlet of Dr. Wasson and send it out under our auspices, we would be saying plainly "these are the views of one who is not a Jew on a matter in which he has no direct concern." This, I believe, would have more weight with the public than any tract.

The President—Just one word. I have this very much at heart because I believe in its absolute necessity. In the first place, I believe with Dr. Schulman that we should not flood the country with anything. We have sent forth one tract, but we have not flooded the country with it. I do not consider a tract on the subject, "The Jew in America," indelicate. I believe that the publication of such a tract is a duty which this Conference owes to the cause. We will not arouse opposition, as seems to be feared. The tract will simply give historical statements in brief paragraphs of what the Jew has accomplished. This is no more indelicate than for a man to write the history of the Jews or for a Rabbi to preach from his pulpit on what Israel stands for in the world.

Rabbi Bernstein—As a member of the Committee on Church and State I would ask Rabbi Gries to include in his motion the reprinting of this pamphlet of Dr. Wasson. That pamphlet also answers the question, "Is the Jew an Alien in This Country?" and the writer takes the standpoint that the Jew is not an alien.

The Chair—Does Rabbi Gries accept the suggestion?

Rabbi Gries—I do not wish to accept the suggestion.

The substitute motion was then put and carried.

Rabbi J. Stolz—I move that the remainder of the report of the Committee on President's Message be made the first order of business of the next session. This is the time to adopt the report of the Committee on Church and State as a whole, inasmuch as we are now through with it.

On motion the report of the Committee on Church and State was adopted as amended.

Rabbi J. Stolz—I move that a copy of the report of the Committee

on Church and State be sent at once to such national organizations as are doing work along this line. Carried.

Prof. Neumark then read his paper on "Crescas and Spinoza" in commemoration of the fifth centenary of the publication of the "Or Adonoi." (v. Appendix H.)

Adjourned.

MONDAY EVENING, JULY 6, 1908.

The Round Table on "The Most Helpful Book of the Year" was led by Rabbis Wise and Rhine, and discussed by Rabbis Berkowitz, Heller, Enelow, Neumark, Schulman, Foster, J. H. Stolz, Morgens-tern and Philipson.

The Round Table discussion on "The Superannuated Ministers' Fund" was led by Rabbi Harry Weiss, and discussed by Rabbis Berkowitz, J. Stolz, Hirshberg and Bernstein.

TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 7, 1908.

The convention was opened with prayer by Rabbi Eugene Mannheimer, of Des Moines, Ia. Vice-President Heller occupied the chair.

The consideration of the report of the Committee on President's Message was continued.

Article VI was adopted.

Article VII was adopted.

Article VIII was adopted.

Article IX was read.

The President—I have no objection to this resolution, except that I feel it is impracticable. We cannot possibly publish a monthly or a bi-monthly journal. I do not believe there is the constituency for such a journal. I have no objection to referring the matter to the Executive Committee. I think it wise to do so. But might I suggest the omission of the word "monthly" or "bi-monthly," and simply the use of the word "journal." I offer that as an amendment.

Rabbi Meyer—May I state that the committee purposely omitted the word "scientific" or "literary journal" in view of the fact that it may be possible to make such a publication literary as well as scien-

tific, and in that way command a larger public.

Rabbi Kaplan—Would it not be advisable to co-operate with the "Jewish Quarterly Review?" They have the facilities and we have not.

Article IX was adopted as amended.

Article X was adopted.

Article XI was read.

Rabbi Morgenstern—While the spirit of this is good, it seems to me that there should be a more definite statement of the duties and functions of this committee. If you merely give its title, the Committee on Appropriations, it is doubtful what its duties are to be. I rise to speak on this subject because the suggestion of this committee emanated from me. I suggested it to the President and he thought it worth embodying in his message. My idea at the time was that this committee should be active particularly at our Conferences in the following way, that every resolution offered on the floor of the Conference, involving the expenditure of money, be referred to this Committee on Appropriations for final recommendation, just as all resolutions are referred to a Committee on Resolutions. In this way we would obtain a proportionate distribution of our funds and at the same time avoid all rash appropriations, such as have occasionally been made in the past. The President developed the suggestion by proposing to make this a permanent standing committee. With this I agree heartily. There should be one committee having complete knowledge of all our expenditures. Therefore I move to amend by inserting the words, "The creation of a standing Committee on Appropriations, whose duty it shall be to consider and make final recommendation to the Executive Committee, or to the Conference if in session, on all matters involving the expenditure of the Conference funds." Seconded.

Rabbi Munnheimer—Does the word "final" mean that the recommendation of the committee shall be final?"

Rabbi Morgenstern—I mean by the word "final" that just as the Committee on Resolutions considers and makes the final, the last, recommendation before the Conference takes action, so also the Committee on Appropriations shall make the final or last recommendation either to the Conference or to the Executive Committee,

either of which shall have the power to alter or reject the recommendation.

Rabbi Meyer—I would suggest the omission of the word "final." It is apt to be misunderstood.

Rabbi Morgenstern—I accept the suggestion.

Rabbi Gries—Have we a Finance Committee?

Rabbi Levi—We had a Finance Committee, but that was subsequently changed in the constitution to an Auditing Committee. We are now changing the constitution again.

Rabbi Gries—That is not proper. We should not have an amendment to the constitution moved in such fashion. It should first be written out, with the statement that an amendment to the constitution is offered and that this is its first reading. Whatever action we may take now means nothing, since next year it must be acted upon finally.

The Chair—It is not an amendment to the constitution, but to the by-laws.

The President—We are empowered to appoint any new standing committee by a two-thirds vote.

Rabbi Gries—If that be so, and the decision is expected at this time, I move to change the "Committee on Appropriations" to "Finance Committee." While I am not prepared offhand to phrase my motion, the essential point is that the Finance Committee shall be required to submit a budget and make recommendations to the Executive Committee on matters involving expenditure, the usual powers given to a Finance Committee.

The President—One reason for the recommendation was this, and that will necessitate something more than Rabbi Gries suggests; in the course of the arguments on the floor motions are frequently made that money shall be expended for a certain purpose. Now we have found that at times, in the enthusiasm of the moment, more money is voted than we find ourselves upon due consideration able to spend. Hence the appointment of such a committee is necessary in order that it may take into consideration all motions for the expenditure of money. In case it is found that some of the items are too large, it may recommend that these be either cut down or dropped.

Rabbi Gries—I have no objection to the inclusion of the thought that items of expenditure proposed by each Conference shall be referred to the Finance Committee and be referred back to the Conference. But my purpose is, with no reflection upon the Treasurer, or upon the rest of us who have been members of the Executive Board, to guard more carefully the finances of the Conference. I think the finances of the Conference are none too carefully conducted, and if we had a Finance Committee that would really be a Finance Committee, and if our affairs were more carefully managed, it would be better for the Conference ultimately. Nothing has happened, but I think our finances should be more carefully conducted.

The Chair—Would it not be better to write out this amendment, inasmuch as it carries with it the forming of a new committee.

Rabbi Gries—Yes.

The Chair—Is there a second to this amendment?

Rabbi Mannheimer—I second it.

The Chair—An amendment is now proposed which adds a very important committee to the committees already in existence, the scope of which shall be not only to propose to the Conference what appropriations shall be granted or not, but also to prepare a budget of the expenditures of this Conference. The author of the amendment will write it out before final vote is taken.

Rabbi Gries—Will Rabbi Stolz write it out?

Rabbi Stolz—I have it here: "That a committee of three on finance be appointed, whose duty shall be to consider all recommendations for appropriations of money, and to report the same to the Conference while in session, and during the rest of the year to the Executive Committee."

Rabbi Guttmacher—Will the members of this committee be members of the Executive Committee?

The Chair—It is not so stated.

Rabbi Guttmacher—It seems to me almost essential that the members of the Finance Committee should be at the same time members of the Executive Committee, otherwise I do not see how they could get all the inside information necessary to act with intelligence.

Rabbi Gries—I will modify my amendment to that effect.

Chairman Heller—The amendment is modified to the effect that the members of the Finance Committee shall be members of the Executive Committee.

The President—I still feel that the suggestion in my message is the best, viz., that the members of this committee shall be the Treasurer, the Corresponding Secretary and the President, and I would amend to that effect.

The Chair—An amendment is no longer possible unless—

Rabbi Guttmacher—I withdraw my amendment.

Rabbi Gries—I have no objection to that.

The President—My reasons for these recommendations are as follows: The President is responsible for the administration of the affairs of the Conference. He keeps in touch, as a matter of course, with all the business of the Conference, and if there is any one who should be on a committee of this kind it seems to me it should be he. The Corresponding Secretary is the other administrative officer who, in conjunction with the President, conducts the affairs of the Conference during the year. I feel that the committee should be constituted in that way.

Rabbi Gries—May I ask the President a question? Who signs the vouchers at the present time?

The President—The President, the Corresponding Secretary and the Treasurer.

Rabbi Gries—Do you think it wise that the same persons who sign the vouchers should be the Finance Committee?

Rabbi Morgenstern—The new idea interjected into this motion by Rabbi Gries does not seem to harmonize with the original intention. The intention in my recommendation was to have this new committee act as a check not upon the officers, but upon the Conference.

Rabbi Stolz—It should be a double check.

Rabbi Gries—The Executive Committee may have certain favored projects which they would wish carried out, and so might look with disfavor upon other projects. It seems to me that there are two ideas which are altogether incompatible, and that we should accordingly have two committees.

The President—Then we should have two committees, one as a check upon the Conference and the other as a check upon the officers, if you want it that way.

Rabbi Gries—I think I should prefer to hold to the original plan, that of an independent Finance Committee. During the Conference the President and Corresponding Secretary are very busy and would not have time to give attention to the work. And during the year I think we have been weak in the conduct of our finances because we have not had a Finance Committee to supervise the expenditure of our funds. There should be some one committee whose business it should be to look after the control of our investments and expenditures and the preparation of a budget and everything pertaining to the finances of the Conference.

Rabbi Morgenstern—I wish to say in this connection, brethren, that the idea in proposing this check was not as a check upon the administrative officers, the three who sign the vouchers, for the simple reason that there is no occasion for this. These three have absolutely no authority to make or to warrant expenditures. Our duty is only to sign these vouchers, and all your committee could do, as far as holding a check upon us would be to inspect our handwriting or something like that. The purpose of this committee was to exert a check upon the expenditure of the money of the Conference by those who have no complete survey of the total expenditures, and certainly there are none who have or can have as complete a knowledge of where our money goes as just those three who do sign the vouchers and who do keep a record of them. If this Finance Committee be not constituted entirely from the Executive Committee you would have difficulty in getting them together. Hence it seems to me, from my little experience with finances, that the President, the Corresponding Secretary and the Treasurer, who know just where all this money is expended, are not only the best, but are the only ones qualified to pass upon all these matters.

The Chair—We are now discussing an amendment offered by Rabbi Gries.

Rabbi Marcuson—I would like to ask whether Rabbi Gries would not include in the duties of this Committee on Finance the duties of the present Investment Committee and abolish that. I was chair-

man of that committee during the present year, and while I tried to ascertain whether we had anything to invest I did not succeed. The Treasurer was able to tell me how much money he had, but did not know how much was authorized to be invested, and he said it was best to keep it all until needed. I think that this Finance Committee should assume also the duties of the Investment Committee.

Rabbi Gries—I do not know what the constitution provides for this Investment Committee; I do not know whether we can abolish it. I think the point Rabbi Marcuson makes is very good. That is one of the things I have had in mind. I have been asked to act as Chairman of the Committee on Investment, and I have always refused, because I could not get the information, although the Treasurer has assured the Executive Committee that everything was properly secured. But I never felt satisfied with the method pursued in investing the funds of the Conference. If it is possible to do away with the standing Committee on Investment and let the Finance Committee assume its duties I think it would be well.

The Chair—We will get the information on that point at once.

Rabbi J. Stolz—The by-laws may be amended or altered by a two-thirds vote at any meeting. (*v. By-Laws, Art. VI.*)

Rabbi Hirshberg—If we can create a standing committee by a two-thirds vote at any meeting we can also abolish such a committee.

The Chair—The information is that the Investment Committee may be abolished or merged with the Committee on Finance.

Rabbi J. Stolz—This seems to me too important to consider off-hand, and I should therefore like to refer this whole matter to a special committee to report back to the Conference. Here we have three or four suggestions, and I think they ought all to be taken into consideration. I make a substitute motion that this whole matter be referred to a special committee to report at the next session of this Conference.

Carried.

The Chair appointed as this committee Rabbis Gries, Marcuson and Morgenstern.

Article XII adopted.

Article XIII read.

Rabbi Gries—I amend to add the words, "That a copy of this section be sent to all interested organizations." Seconded.

Article XIII was adopted as amended.

Prof. Neumark then concluded the reading of his paper on "Crescas and Spinoza."

President Philipson resumed the chair.

The report of the Committee on the Elaboration of a Systematic Jewish Theology was presented by the Chairman, Dr. Schulman.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE ELABORATION OF A SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

Gentlemen of the Conference:

Your committee has not held a formal session, but the Chairman has sent the following communication to the members of the committee, the contents of which were indorsed by Drs. Landsberg, Krauskopf, Grossmann, Feldsman and Lefkovits; two have not replied, and Dr. Friedlander is opposed.

For the last few years there has been repeated discussion as to the necessity of a creed, or summary of principles, which shall put an end to what is deplored as the anarchistic individualism rampant in Reform Judaism. This so-called anarchy, however, is very much exaggerated. As a matter of fact, actual unanimity as to the fundamental principles exists, as can be seen from the leading thoughts in pulpit discourses, and from the practice in the public worship and daily life of those who are members of reform congregations.

It is contrary to the genius of Judaism and to its historical development to manufacture creeds in Conferences. Whatever authority in matters of theology was established in the past, came about through the moral authority of the learning and character of the individual. But while this is so, it would be helpful to clear thinking, and to an effective presentation of Judaism, if a volume of essays could be published by the Conference on the essential ideas of Judaism. These essays should be written by members of the Conference preferably, or non-members, if most feasible. The writer should be designated by the Committee on Theology. Fundamental principles and standards might be formulated with respect to the method and style of presentation. The Conference would then become practically a committee of publication, and it would be understood that the authority of the essays would depend entirely upon the writers.

The following subjects for eleven essays are proposed. The reasons for the choice will be apparent to the expert. They touch upon the relation of Judaism to Christianity and to modern thought, and at the same time they cover the ground with a fair completeness. The subjects are:

1. Immanence and Transcendence in the Jewish Thought of God.
2. The Conception of Keneseth Ysroel.
3. The Kingdom of God.
4. Holiness, the Ethical Ideal for the Individual.
5. Justice as a Social Ideal.
6. The Conception of Law in Judaism.
7. The Jewish Attitude Towards Life After Death.
8. Revelation Compatible With Science.
9. The Place of the Bible in Judaism.
10. The Relation of Tradition to the Jewish Consciousness.
11. The Relation of the Synagogue to the State.

Drs. Landsberg, Krauskopf, Grossmann, Feldman and Lefkovits have indorsed this plan and have authorized me so to quote them in the report. They are also satisfied with the arrangement of the subjects, two of them accepting the scheme without any further comment, and three suggesting additional subjects.

The selection of these subjects has been prompted by purely theological considerations as bearing upon present problems. Purely metaphysical questions we have tried to avoid. The desire has been also to limit the subjects to fundamental and theoretic questions, whether these fundamentals bear upon thinking or upon conduct. It was not intended to present a list of subjects which would cover every side of Jewish life, the educational and institutional. Of course, the list, if such were the intention, could have been much larger.

An exhaustive essay on the subject of Immanence and Transcendence, etc., would practically bring out the essential difference between Judaism and Christianity, which has carried Immanence to the extreme of incarnation, and on the other hand, between Judaism and any scheme of transcendence which destroys the divine nature in man.

The subject, the Conception of Keneseth Ysroel, if properly worked out, would be a solution of the problem which is uppermost in the Jewish mind today. In the proper definition of what is Keneseth Ysroel, in the search of the origins of the term, in the appreciation of its full significance, the philosophy of reform might be said to find its justification. A proper answer to this question would tell us whether we are a race, or a nation, or a historical people; whose essence is to be a church, as is indicated in the phrase. What Keneseth Ysroel is ought to be definitely stated.

The Kingdom of God would express in full comprehensiveness Israel's hope. It is a larger conception than any particular Messianic formulation of it.

Holiness as an ideal of Jewish Ethics; Justice as an ideal of Jewish Sociology; Law as the characteristic emphasis of the Jewish religion, with its expression of the moral imperative, these three themes would give, when fully and thoroughly presented, Judaism's conception of man.

"The Jewish Attitude Toward Life After Death," seems to be the concise expression of that peculiar and unique faith of Israel, which had the immediate assurance of the soul's immortality, based not on philosophical or theological arguments, but on ethical and spiritual experience, on the intimate union with God in life here.

Revelation and Science, which might have as one aspect of its treatment the discussion of the question of the relation of creation to evolution, will easily appear to all as an indispensable theme for any modern discussion of the relation of an inherited religion to the dominant tendencies of the modern spirit. What is the exact position of the Bible as a vehicle of revelation; what is the legitimate function of tradition; and allied with these two themes, another which we would add to the eleven, "What Is the Seat of Authority in Judaism?" This group might be said to be a necessary cluster of essays investigating various aspects of authority.

Lastly, the Relation of the Synagogue to the State, although one of the committee thought that this was an example of an incidental question, and not fundamental, yet the majority of the committee seemed to think that it is essential to the proper definition of Modern Judaism. For, as in ancient times, religion was indissolubly interwoven with the state, in modern times where Judaism professes to be able to live and actually does live as a religion scattered all over the world, it becomes necessary it seems to us to define its relation to the state.

While the five members of the Conference named who, with the Chairman, constitute the majority of the committee, accepted the plan, and the eleven essays submitted, some of them suggested possible additional subjects. Such, for instance, by Dr. Landsberg, on "The Attitude of Reform Judaism to Ceremonial Laws;" by Dr. Krauskopf, on "The Attitude of Israel Towards Other Faiths," on "The Decalogue as a Basis of Moral Law," on "Prophetism as a Phase of the Religious Aspirations of Israel"; by Dr. Grossmann, on "The Basis of Jewish Morality," on "The Character of Jewish Ethics," on "The Fundamentals of Education Among Jews" and on "Assent in Judaism" (on which he says: "I mean by this a statement as to what entitles an Adolescent to be received among adult Jews").

Of the members of the committee who have voted for the plan one, Dr. Feldman, expressed what we all feel more or less the inherent difficulty of such a scheme, and that the ideal would be for one man to write the whole theology of Judaism. Of course, when such a man shall appear he will present to us his Jewish view of the world and life, which will compel our assent by its own authority. In the meantime, the committee feels that this plan of publishing a volume of such essays would contribute very much to the elucidation and effective presentation of the fundamental ideas in Judaism as to which actual unanimity exists. And while it is of course expected that the individuality of the writers will be most marked, the spirit which will animate them will be a force of unification. Thus, while the Conference

would present neither a creed nor a systematic theology manufactured in committee, it would send out under its auspices within a few years a volume of essays whose authority would depend exclusively upon their own merits and upon the individual writers, and yet would contribute very much to the unification of Jewish thought.

Dr. Hirsch being in Europe was not reached by the communication, and from Dr. Sale we have not heard. Dr. Friedlander, of Oakland, objects to the entire plan, because, as he says, it does not realize the intention of the Conference. The committee was appointed to elaborate a systematic theology which would cover the whole of Jewish life. If one author could be found to do it he could not be governed by the limitations laid down by others. He might also wish to discuss other subjects, such as "The Basis of Morality," "Free Will," "Providence," "The Incorporeality of the Deity," "Creation and Evolution," the "Traditional Sabbath." Dr. Friedlander's strongest objection, in his own opinion, is what he considers the incoherence and inconsistency which would invariably result from eleven such essays written by different writers. As the letters of the members of the committee mentioned authorize the Chairman to cast their vote for his plan, he presents his plan as a majority report, with the objections of Dr. Friedlander as a minority report.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL SCHULMAN, *Chairman.*

Dr. Kohler—I move that this excellent report be received and taken up seriatim. Seconded and carried.

The first paragraph was read.

Dr. Kohler—We have here a minority and a majority report. The former, presented by Rabbi Friedlander, insists upon the original plan proposed two years ago, viz., that a series of volumes be issued presenting a systematic Jewish theology. This committee was appointed to carry out this proposition. The question is now whether the original plan should be adhered to or whether the proposal of the majority report should be adopted.

The Chair—Dr. Kohler's point of order is well taken. We must consider the minority report first.

Rabbi Enelow—May we have the original report read?

The Chair—The report referred to by Dr. Kohler was made at the Cleveland Conference at the close of Dr. Kohler's report on Prof. Margolis' paper, read at the previous Conference. (*v. Year-book*, Vol. XV., 83-110.)

Rabbi Enelow—This says nothing about the number of volumes. Now we have a report, and a good report, and I suppose

there will be no objection to the consideration now of the plan of the majority, as there is no minority.

Rabbi Schulman—May I explain this whole matter? You see it is a very difficult thing to have the preliminary reports technically correct. Your Committee on Theology is scattered all over the country. You know how difficult it is to get answers, not to speak of getting meetings. I did not by any means, when this plan first occurred to me, have the full plan in view. I informally discussed it with the President of the Conference, who is ex officio a member of all committees. He concurred with me as to the general idea. I then presented it to the different members of the committee, and am happy to say that the majority responded in good time. All except Rabbi Friedlander concurred in the plan. In his absence I thought it courteous to present his objections as a minority report. Now the difference between the majority and minority reports is this; if the latter is to be interpreted as Dr. Kohler suggests it would mean the elaboration of a systematic Jewish theology in several volumes. My purpose was to meet a practical situation in the world of Jewish thought. We have been asking for something that shall unify and clarify the tendencies apparent in our preaching and our thinking. I am a firm believer in the unanimity of this committee's report. Although men may approach things and congregations adopt resolutions, yet they may not have the intellectual, clear conception of the underlying ideas. They need not be theologians. Therefore unanimity may exist, although not clearly expressed. We as theologians feel the need of finding this unanimity expressed in some form. We do not create. Can the committee say, "We will adopt this from you, and this from you?" How, therefore, can this unity of thought in some measure be brought about, if at all? Assuming that a certain unanimity of spirit exists, as evidenced in the actual life of Reform Judaism, then this spirit of unity will assert itself, I believe, despite the natural divergencies of opinion among the members of this Conference.

Dr. Kohler—I wish to say beforehand that I indorse the majority report. But I do not fully agree with the argument of the Chairman, inasmuch as I think that a work containing twelve essays by twelve different men cannot establish a positive theology. What we

want is this, when Dr. Wise, who is the actual originator of the plan, asked for a solemn and authoritative expression of Jewish belief, he meant something more than mere dissertations on the different parts and branches of belief. He wanted statements that are positive, that are to serve as guiding maxims and as expressions of the Jewish consciousness. Now I differ with the proposition to make a volume of essays take the place of this. I do not think that this volume, or a series of volumes on the subjects suggested, will meet the actual need. But at the same time I fully indorse the majority report. We should have such a work that expresses the different views. This will lead to a positive expression of the Jewish consciousness. I therefore move the acceptance of the majority report. Seconded.

Rabbi Enelow—I need not say that I admire the clarity of exposition of the report. But I cannot help doubting the advisability of voting on so important a question on such short notice. Now, the committee was really a committee on the formulation of a theology of Judaism, if I am not mistaken. At least the resolution, as adopted at the last Conference but one, I believe, out of which this committee was an outgrowth, was to this effect. Here is really the resolution, it is a recommendation found at the end of Dr. Kohler's paper: "That a committee be appointed to place itself in correspondence with other bodies with the object of constructing a creed," That was the purpose of the committee. I think the committee has virtually brought in the report, that the formulation of a creed is not advisable. This practically disposes of the original work of the committee. The new recommendation as to the issuance of a volume of essays covering the sphere of Jewish theology and thought is entirely foreign to the work of a committee of this character. Now, I think if we actually resolve that we are not ready to pass upon the subject of a creed, we have no right to pledge ourselves to the publication of a volume of such essays, which would be in spirit the indorsement of a creed. Now I am not trying to throw cold water on the plan of the Chairman of the committee with regard to the publication of a volume of essays on Jewish theology or Jewish life. On the contrary, the plan appeals to me very much. But I do not think it wise to vote finally for the

publication of such a volume, when this very committee says that we are not ready to formulate a creed.

Rabbi Berkowitz—The question has been before this Conference in the course of its history from session to session, both in the papers which have been presented at various times, and in the resolutions upon which action has been taken, until it has become more and more manifest that the distinct formulation of a creed is impossible. It seems to me that throughout Jewish history whenever any effort of this kind has been made it has been under the compulsion and stress of outward circumstances, when we were put upon the defensive. The genius of our religion seems to have been opposed to that rigidity which comes from a fixed formula, and evidently the committee has recognized this by advising against the formulation of a creed. The plan it offers is a substitute, a preparatory work that shall enable the individual to grasp that general fluid movement which constitutes the cause for which we stand, and I can see no objection, but many advantages that might accrue to all of us and to our people from such a work. It is a stupendous enterprise. I have my personal doubts as to the possibility of carrying it out, at least very soon. Consequently we are planning a work that will require a great many years for its consummation. Still I see no harm; in fact, I see a great deal of good in undertaking such an enterprise now. We are not ready to finish it, but we are ready to begin it.

Rabbi Guttmacher—I feel that it would be helpful to know the scope of the book that Dr. Kohler is preparing on the theology of Judaism.

Dr. Kohler—I have planned a book, two-thirds of which is already written, containing the systematic theology of Judaism. The treatment is historical as well as systematic. I treat each subject in paragraphs, beginning with Biblical times, coming then to the Talmudic, and proceeding to our own era. In conclusion I state our beliefs. I wish to say this, that at no time in my book will it be said that such and such is the absolute creed. I give the historical development of every doctrine.

Rabbi Levi—I rise to a point of order. This committee has brought in a report contrary to the original instructions of the Con-

ference. We have been working along the lines of a creed in various ways in this Conference. It was attempted first in the presentation of a very elaborate work on the theology of Judaism. We have attempted it in the efforts to establish a synod, where we were sadly wrecked upon the rocks of opinion and argument. And now we come to a phase of this matter more dangerous, I think, than any other plan proposed. It has been well said by a previous speaker that we have rushed into the breach in matters of this kind in times of stress when we were on the defensive. But we are on the defensive no longer. I say that Reform Judaism is the orthodoxy of American thinking today. It has crystallized itself to that extent. Therefore we can formulate our beliefs and doctrines on the great underlying questions that go to form the body corporate of American Reform Judaism. I would indeed ten years ago have hailed such a volume with delight. Just out of the college, I remember well what my difficulties were. I had no sources to go to, no work where I could find these articulated principles of Judaism. To the more individuals I went the more perplexed I became in attempting to determine the underlying unity of Reform Judaism. Therefore let us embrace this opportunity now offered. We should instruct this committee to carry out this plan as soon as feasible; we should select the men to do the work on these particular subjects, and when the volume has been issued it will be another step forward that will result in the summoning up of our courage to formulate a creed. We will have a creed, not such as is formulated by a hierarchy or a church, but a creed that will compel authority by the very perfection of its own thought and by the very harmony with the vital feelings of all Jews in accordance with the ideals of God and humanity.

Prof. Neumark—I wish to say that in the past we really never had a fixed creed, but none the less our fathers had a fine way to express their agreement on all points. You will find examples of this throughout the history of Jewish thought and Jewish creed. We have certain religious documents which were not in full accord with one another, but how was this fact expressed? Simply by omission. The first Book of the Covenant believes in the existence of angels, the second denies this, but this disagreement is expressed

only by means of omission. And later it was the same way. We find some beliefs in the Tanaitic writings which are not found in the Mishnah, because there was no full agreement upon them, for into this were admitted only those beliefs upon which there was no difference of opinion. I think that we are now in a similar position. We have without doubt certain basic convictions in regard to which there is no controversy among us, and yet we have no clear and definite exposition of these principles. All of us agree that we can leave certain questions to the individual, but even these we can take under control, as it was in the time of Judaism's living development. The Tanaitic writings were under authoritative control and supervision, although they were not the expression of an agreement. That is the difference between them and the Mishnah, the expression of unanimity in the principles. Therefore I think that these two propositions are not contradictory. Both propositions can be carried out as history show us was the method in former times.

Rabbi Fineshreiber—I would like to ask if it is the purpose of this committee to have these various essays presented before the Conference in a single volume.

Rabbi Schulman—That was not the intention. The committee wants clarification and unification. I was delighted with Dr. Neumark's thought that the differences of individuals would finally bring forth still greater harmony.

Rabbi J. Stolz—I move that these essays be presented to the Conference each year as a part of the program. It will take six or twelve years to prepare them, and each year let one be read and discussed before the Conference.

Rabbi Kaplan—I would amend to the effect that we have two such papers at each Conference.

Rabbi J. Stolz—As many as we can get. Leave that to the committee.

The Chair—I will put the amendment of Dr. Kaplan, that two or more of these papers be read before each Conference as a part of the program, in case, of course, that this report be adopted.

Rabbi Schulman—This is very important. Does the mover of the motion mean that after the papers shall have been read the Con-

ference shall then have the power to decide whether they shall be published or not?

The Chair—I should say that even before the paper is read before the Conference it should be submitted to the committee, and then if the committee approves it may go into the volume.

Rabbi J. Stolz—I will not accept that. I don't see any necessity for it. The voice of the Conference is final and they can accept or reject it.

Rabbi Schulman—That is what I wanted to learn. If this committee puts itself in communication with men, who are recognized as authorities; it must naturally under all conditions print their essays. If, however, the Conference is to decide whether the essays are to be printed, it becomes an altogether different matter.

Rabbi Heller—The amendment of Dr. Stolz, as I understand it, is simply this, that these papers be presented to the Conference so that the Conference may hear them, but not that it should pass upon their fitness for publication. This is to be left to the committee, inasmuch as a paper may be suitable for reading before the Conference, but not for publication in such a volume.

Rabbi Enelqv—May I ask why not? If the Conference is denied the right to select such essays as would go into this volume representative of Jewish thought, why should six or seven men be given that right? That is why I objected to the authorization of that committee to issue volumes like this in place of formulating a creed. If this Conference refuses to formulate a creed, then why empower the committee of six to do that very thing?

Rabbi Kory—Are the writers of these papers to be only members of the Conference?

Rabbi Schulman—Oh, no, no. The report says "members of the Conference preferably."

Rabbi Berkowitz—I would like to be informed as to whether in this projected volume, if this report be carried out, it might not be possible to include some essays that have already been prepared and read and debated and adopted and are to be found in our year books.

The Chair—That is a suggestion for the committee.

Rabbi Guttmacher—It seems to me that if the plan of this committee is to prevail, this Conference will have no right to accept or

reject a paper. Then I do not see why the paper should be discussed at all.

Rabbi Heller—That was not the idea of Dr. Stolz's amendment. It was that the papers should first be read and discussed before the Conference, and then the committee should decide whether it wishes to publish each paper in the series.

The Chair—The amendment of Dr. Stolz is that before these papers are included in this volume they shall be read before this Conference and discussed.

Rabbi Ettleson—If I understood Dr. Schulman's report rightly it seems to me the amendment proposed by Dr. Stolz would militate altogether against it. Dr. Schulman's report was intended to avoid the very difficulties of the formulation of a creed, while giving us all the moral support a creed is supposed to give. Now, unless the Conference has the right to give its sanction to a paper presented before it, I see no reason why the paper should be presented at all. I do not think the intention of the committee is to present certain theological papers with the stamp of the Conference upon them with the purpose of ensuring their acceptance. Dr. Enelow seems to think that we are trying to get a creed under a different name. I don't think that is the intention of the committee, and therefore I think that Dr. Stolz's motion neutralizes the purpose of the report.

Rabbi Gries—I regret that I have not been able to hear the whole discussion; I was detained in committee meeting. I don't know just what the original motion before the Conference is.

President Philipson—The original motion is to adopt this plan of the committee for the publication of twelve essays on the subjects suggested by the committee. Dr. Stolz then amended to the effect that these essays shall be read before the Conference at different meetings, within five or six or seven years, whenever they are ready, as a part of our program.

Rabbi Gries—This is the question I want to ask them: Does the adoption of the report carry with it the authorization of the committee to take these subjects, assign them to different writers, and go ahead and publish the volume?

The Chair—I should say it did.

Rabbi Enelow—Then the mere selection on the part of the committee shall be final?

Rabbi Gries—May I speak on the motion? I am inclined to be doubtful of the wisdom of proceeding hastily in this matter and giving so large a power to the committee. I understand the difficulty, that if we invite a scholar of standing to write an essay on a specific theme it must be taken for granted that the Conference is not going to revise his work, for he, as a scholar, would not submit to such treatment. We cannot ask him to submit his manuscript for approval. The very fact that his name is signed to it makes him responsible for the views expressed. Now were this simply a matter of publishing one pamphlet we would not hesitate to make the experiment. But this larger plan of empowering the Committee on Theology to select a whole series of writers and publish a volume of essays involves two questions; first, the large expense of the work, and we are doing a great deal of publishing which costs a whole lot of money, far more than some of our members imagine. Our printing bills have been very high. The second point is, we are taking out of the hands of the Conference and putting in the hands of a committee the selection of a series of writers and the determination of a series of subjects that have been considered by the committee I see, although the committee has not held a meeting, and there has not been—

Rabbi Schulman—May I interrupt you, because your statement implies that this is not a proper report. Here are the letters, which are as good as a meeting. Every member of the committee indorsed this plan after careful examination.

Rabbi Gries—I did not make any statement which the committee itself has not made. The report begins: "Your committee has not held a formal session," and that is all I said. Every one who heard the report knew you had the correspondence. The committee has not held a meeting, and it is my experience that when men who are on a committee get together and discuss certain propositions, that out of that interchange of discussion there comes a change of program. And even if, as is perfectly clear, Dr. Schulman has submitted the program to the members of the committee scattered throughout the country, and they have given their formal assent,

nevertheless there has not been that interchange of personal opinion that comes from open discussion.

Rabbi Schulman—Let me correct you. The report states distinctly that they have approved the subjects. Some have added additional subjects, and, as a matter of course, the Conference may suggest other subjects. I have quoted the subjects some of the committee have added, but all of them have accepted the subjects presented. Hence they have accepted the plan in toto.

Rabbi Gries—I am not objecting to the method by which the committee received its information. I am speaking to the report.

The Chair—Really Rabbi Gries is not in order, but he being out of the room engaged on a very important committee, I thought it was only courtesy to allow him to speak. That being the case I will grant him the floor. The discussion was closed, we were speaking on the amendment itself.

Rabbi Gries—The point I want to make is that we are undertaking a large proposition. By taking the power out of the hands of the Conference, I think we are taking a rash step. If the committee desire to make an experiment with one paper, for example, the one the committee holds to be the most important, and wants to have that paper printed in pamphlet form I would not object, because I think we would discover thereby just what is going to be the result; and whether this expression in pamphlet form, under the signature of the man who writes the paper, is going to produce for us the kind of book we wish to send out as a permanent volume under the name of the Conference. If the committee wishes that, I would vote in favor of it; if it means that we adopt the whole plan of the report, I would vote against it. I therefore move as a substitute for Dr. Stolz's amendment, and for the report of the committee, that the Committee on Theology be empowered to select one subject and one writer and have that one essay published, subject to the approval of the committee. Seconded.

Rabbi Foster—How does that differ from the action taken on the publication of tracts?

Rabbi Gries—As I understand, the purpose of the tract is to put in popular form full statements of certain questions which are held to be important, while, as I conceive the scope of this Committee on

Theology, it is to present a statement, not for popular consumption, but for education—

Rabbi Enelow—Of the theologian.

Rabbi Gries—Of ourselves and other persons like ourselves and a more scientific presentation of the theme.

Rabbi Enelow—A word of explanation. I have been accused several times of inconsistency in this matter, inasmuch as I have assumed the task of writing the first tract, and was willing to have it go out under the sanction of the Conference, or rather under the auspices of the Conference, and on my own responsibility. And now I am taking this position in regard to this more ambitious work, so that I ought to answer this charge of inconsistency. I do not regard it as inconsistent because, after all, tracts, as the previous speaker pointed out, are planned to be popular expositions of certain subjects on which we are all agreed more or less. It was a mere accident, gentlemen, that the first tract touched on certain doctrinal points. The majority of tracts are not going to touch upon doctrinal points or principles. They will probably treat some practical subjects concerning which there will be little difference of opinion. And such tracts to be distributed under the auspices of the Conference on the responsibility of the writer do not involve the Conference in any such assumption of authority, as would be the case if the contemplated volume were issued. Now, this volume is not going to be a work for the purpose of popularizing certain teachings among the masses, concerning which we all hold certain opinions, but as has well been stated by the chairman of this committee, it is calculated to be a work which is going to affect the thought of leaders and teachers of Judaism and also the world outside. Because it is to be of such tremendous importance and of such tremendous influence in the clarification of Jewish thought, I am opposed to the taking of a thing of that kind out of the hands of the Conference, after the Conference has again and again set itself on record as opposing a creed.

Rabbi Heller—I regret to say that I cannot vote for the substitute motion of Rabbi Gries, although I am in accord with its spirit. But I don't think that the motion carries out that spirit. I took occasion two days ago to plead with the Conference to set some bounds to

individualism, and to take its courage in its hands and send forth something without the perpetual warning that this was simply an individual expression. And I might be accused of inconsistency when now, contrariwise, I warn the Conference against sending out theological essays of the nature proposed as expressions of the sense of this Conference. It is because I see the same important distinction that Brother Enelow has stated in his incisive way, between a popular tract without scientific weight and a theological essay that seeks to state a position, not in as delicate and politic a manner as possible, but as sharply and definitely as it can be stated. And, therefore, I for one hope that the program as presented by this committee will not be accepted; that the Conference will not commit itself to the plan by which essays are assigned to certain people, then undergo examination or revision for approval by a certain committee, and then be published under the auspices of the Conference without any warning as to their being individual expressions.

Rabbi Ettelson—In view of the fact that there is a question in the minds of many members of the Conference as to the advisability of putting into the hands of a committee so serious and important a matter, and in view, furthermore, of the fact that the book we have in mind is simply a pre-credal elaboration of belief—

Rabbi Schulman—That was not in the mind of the committee.

Rabbi Ettelson—Why may not these same subjects be given to representatives scholars as papers to be discussed by this Conference with a view to their final publication in a book?

The Chair—That is what Dr. Stolz wants.

Rabbi Ettelson—The difference is this, when the writers are selected they need not be told that these papers will be incorporated in a book. We are simply asking them to give us papers on these subjects. Finally, after five years, when we have had them discussed and know their value, then it will be time enough to publish them.

Dr. Kohler—I understand we are speaking on Rabbi Gries' substitute, and I wish to say simply this, that by the adoption of this substitute we actually cut the ground from under the feet of the committee. The main force of this proposition lies in the fact that

we will have essays for the elucidation, say now, of twelve fundamental ideas, and it is just by the juxtaposition, the presentation of all these alongside of each other that we endeavor to bring home to the mind of the people, and especially of the theologian, the entire conception which expresses the consciousness of the Jew today. By resorting to the means proposed by Rabbi Gries this would be impossible. Therefore I earnestly hope that the Conference will not vote in favor of Rabbi Gries' motion.

Rabbi Levi—I move the previous question. Seconded.

The Chair—Before putting the question the Chairman of the committee must be granted the floor to close the debate.

Rabbi Schulman—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Conference: I was delighted with the serious attention given this report. I regret that no other member of the Committee on Theology happens to be present, so that he also could back his written approval by argument. The burden of defending the report, therefore, falls on me. I wish to say that the committee, speaking for myself, and I think I interpret the feelings of all its members, has no personal interest in having this carried. We have attempted to do something for the Conference. If you in your wisdom should think that this attempt is a failure you, of course, as a self-governing body, will reject it. But I beg of you to consider that it is high time for this Conference to ask itself whether it wants something on theology or not. If not, then it may dispose of the whole matter at once. But if it does wish something, if it desires a clear-cut, practical scheme, here it is. I wish to say with reference to Brother Enelow's assertion, that he is imputing to the committee a motive which it never had in mind, viz., to have this work take the place of a creed. I request the brethren to note that the subjects were not determined upon without due reflection. While this is a short report, of only four pages, let me assure you that I have devoted a year's thought to this scheme. This scheme is an attempt to present a number of essays on illuminating ideas in Judaism. Ideas is the word used in this report. Therefore if you adopt the substitute motion of Brother Gries you kill the report, as you have a perfect right to do. But do not deceive yourselves that if you adopt a substitute motion you will cure the defect. Our idea is not to invite Mr. A or Mr. B

to write an essay and then publish it if worthy. No, it is to collect a number of essays. While we would not dictate to these men how to write, we would inform them of our motive and our purpose, so that these twelve men would be governed by the spirit of what we want. In adopting this report you would not take anything away from the power of the Conference; you would not commit the Conference to anything; you would not be forging fetters for any individual; you would not be artificially creating a Jewish theology. I hope that neither the substitute of Brother Gries nor the motion of Brother Stolz will be adopted, the former, because it will kill the scheme, and the latter, because it will make the scheme impossible, but that you will either accept the report or reject it.

Rabbi Gries—I rise to withdraw my substitute. I do so because I understand the spirit of Dr. Stolz's motion to be that the essays shall be presented to the Conference with a view to publishing if we desire.

The Chair—Rabbi Stolz's amendment is before the house, viz., that every paper presented by this committee shall be read before the Conference and published in the year book, and in addition shall be published in a volume to appear later, if the Conference so determines.

Dr. Stolz's amendment was lost by a vote of 25-15.

The original motion of Dr. Kohler was carried by a vote of 25-15.

Moved and seconded that the Committee on Theology shall consist of eleven members. Carried.

The privilege of the floor was granted to Mr. I. George Dobsevege, Secretary of the Jewish Publication Society of America, who addressed the Conference in the interests of that society. At the close of his remarks the following motion was offered by Dr. Schulman, and after being duly seconded was adopted unanimously: That it be the sense of our Conference that each member endeavor in every way possible to enlist the interest of his people in the work of the Jewish Publication Society of America, notably in the Bible publication.

On motion the Conference adjourned until 2:30 p. m. of the same day.

TUESDAY AFTERNOON, JULY 7, 1908.

The minutes of the preceding meeting were read by Rabbi S. Hirshberg, Secretary pro tem., and approved.

The report of the Committee on Social and Religious Union and Lyceum Bureau was then presented.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS UNION AND LYCEUM BUREAU.

To the Officers and Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis:

BRETHREN—This report naturally falls into two parts, that in regard to the Social and Religious Union, and that which concerns the Lyceum Bureau of Jewish Lectures. We shall consider them under the headings A and B.

A.

Your Committee on Social and Religious Union begs leave to report that the progress along the lines of investigation entrusted to it has been very satisfactory during the past year. To those who have given the matter careful study and are prepared to pass judgment upon it, there can be little doubt that the "institutional idea" is gaining ground in modern congregations and that it seems altogether likely that in the near future all congregations will have to undertake institutional work of one kind or another if they are to hope for any real influence in their respective communities. The objection that has so often been urged that the introduction into the synagogue of matters not essentially and integrally religious would tend to secularize the house of God, has been fairly tested and it has proved to be utterly unsound. To prove the groundlessness of this contention one needs only to point to the fact that in those congregations in which activities have not been confined to the mere holding of a weekly service and the conducting of a religious school, real religious life has been more intense on the whole than in other congregations whose work has thus been limited. Our committee is not, in this place, making a plea for the Institutional Synagogue, but it is obvious, and this point is worthy of note, that practically all of our Synagogues are such in a greater or less degree. The work of investigating this year's synagogal activities was entrusted by the Chairman of the committee to a subcommittee under the chairmanship of Rabbi Wolsey, and the figures and facts given herewith are the result of that subcommittee's investigations. Although 205 questionnaires were sent to the members of the Conference, your committee has to base the result of its investigations upon only 57 replies. Therefore the statistics that have been collated from these answers must be only partial. These 57 answers, however, report for a large membership. They represent congregations ranging in membership from 35 to 1,130, and the

total number of members, excluding five who did not report the number of members, is 11,350. This takes into account the brother who reported souls instead of members. This very incomplete but very large figure, demonstrates the enormous influence exercised upon American Judaism by this Conference.

Twelve of our members report men's clubs in their congregations, whose activities are either social or literary. Some of them meet at dinners or otherwise for the purpose of discussing matters of interest to the congregation or topics of general Jewish interest. This figure excludes the independent social club that exists in most Jewish communities.

Out of our 57 answers, 53 report the existence of women's organizations. These societies raise money for the building of a new synagogue, for the payment of Sabbath school teachers, for the beautifying of the Temple on Sabbaths and holidays, for the entertainment of the members of the congregation on Hanukah and Purim, for the dressing of poor confirmands and for the pay of the choir. They also meet socially, sew for the poor, visit the inhabitants of the poor district and assist at congregational reunions. Surely this is testimony to the large part which woman plays in the modern reform synagogue.

Thirty-two report the formation of young people's societies. These organizations are various in purpose. Some are educational, meeting periodically for the purpose of Jewish or general culture. Some are altar guilds for the purpose of decorating the Temple; some are sewing circles; some are mite societies for charitable purposes, and some are Temple alumni organizations which find some religious work to do.

Thirty report Bible societies or classes; eight have Chautauqua circles, four have such classes under the auspices of the Council of Jewish Women, and one has a Bible class conducted by the Junior Council.

The charities of the community are largely administered by independent organizations, though their membership is largely composed of the members of the congregation. Nevertheless, 25 report strictly congregational charitable activity. Some collect or maintain special funds for distribution to the needy. Some have "Fruit and Flower Societies," whose purpose it is to visit the poor and distribute fruits and flowers. Three congregations maintain mission schools to educate the poor immigrants or denizens of the slums. One maintains beds in the name of the congregation at the local hospital.

Eight have provided lecture courses of either general or Jewish interest, and four under the auspices of the Council of Jewish Women. Two report that there are public lecture courses in their cities which are of interest to the members of their local congregations.

Forty-two have libraries, most of which are for the benefit of the Sabbath school children, and some for the Sabbath school teachers. One of these is a branch of the Public Library, and one has a special Jewish collection in a corner of the Public Library.

Besides these organizations we have the following special societies organized in the interest or under the auspices of the congregation: A normal class composed of post-confirmants, or a teachers' society; an institute composed of young men and women who meet bi-monthly to arrange lectures, musical programs, entertainments and public discussions; an adult class to study topics of Jewish and religious interest; kindergartens either for members of the Sabbath school or for the general public without regard to religious affiliation; a free synagogue for people who cannot afford membership; social settlements; mission schools; a juvenile self-improvement society, which is a boys' club to play innocent games and cultivate good manners; a junior choir who sing for the Saturday morning service or other occasions; a Sabbath school choir, which leads the singing for the Sabbath service. Other activities mentioned are congregational singing and general interest in immigrants and immigration.

Fourteen report meetings of various organizations of the congregation at suppers to discuss matters of religious or congregational or cultural interest. One reports an annual reception given by the President of the congregation.

An innovation that is well worthy of most careful consideration at our hands has been introduced by a number of southern congregations with the most marked success. It consists in the appointment of a Committee on Hotels, whose duty it is to consult the register of the leading hotels at the week-ends for the purpose of securing the names of our co-religionists who may be guests in the city for the time being, and to send them a card of invitation to attend the services on the following day or days. This plan has been found not only to increase the attendance at the local services, but frequently to awaken an interest in synagogal attendance on the part of men who ordinarily have remained away.

PESACH.

Five answer that they try to create an interest in the Passover by teaching either the children or the adults the manner in which a Sedar shall be conducted. One tries to interest the home in Pesach by reaching it through the Sabbath school children, and one by a Sedar for the confirmants at the Rabbi's home. One has a special choir service on the Sunday of Passover.

SHABUOTH.

Confirmation is the universal answer to the question regarding Shabuoth. This ceremony seems to maintain a permanent place in modern Judaism, and perhaps we may hold it responsible for the vitality which Shabuoth still retains. Three report a public reception to the confirmants, and one has introduced the custom of presenting the confirmants with a Bible.

SUCCOTH.

One of our brethren reports that Succoth is dying, this in the face of the fact that 31 of our colleagues report that they have special services for the

Succoth. Some have introduced a harvest service for the children, to which the children bring fruits and flowers, which are afterwards distributed to hospitals and the poor. Eighteen have built Succahs where services are held both by the children and the adults. One encourages his people to build a Succah in their own yard.

PURIM.

Forty-six celebrate Purim with some form of entertainment either by or for the children. Many have Purim plays, some have cantatas, many have Purim balls at the club, and one has a Purim masquerade. One has introduced the bringing of special offerings by the children of the Sabbath school to be given afterwards to some local charity.

'HANUKKAH.

It is somewhat surprising to note that five of our answers say nothing with regard to 'Hanukkah, this despite the fact that the Maccabean festival has entered so effectively into the lives of our children. It is to be presumed that the neglect was a neglect to answer rather than a neglect to observe the day with some lesson or celebration for the children. Fifty-two report some form of entertainment given by or for the children on 'Hanukkah. Fifteen Rabbis distributed candles to the children.

As to the assistance which all these methods have been to the social and religious life of the congregation, we have many opinions. Twenty-four have answered that these celebrations and innovations have proved generally helpful. A composite of all these favorable opinions reveal to us that they increase attendance at services; that they make the Temple stand out as a prominent feature in the Jewish communal life; that they contribute to the financial and numerical strength of the congregation; that they increase the Sabbath school enrollment; that they stimulate interest in Jewish ceremonies, and that they have helped the various members of the congregation to become acquainted with one another. Nineteen have ventured no judgment whatever.

One of our colleagues has said that "they keep those interested interested;" from which we conclude that they maintain the well-being of the congregation, but that they do not contribute to the religious life of those members who are indifferent to Judaism. One will not hazard any more favorable opinion than that these are nothing but "grateful diversions." Some are skeptical as to the good these institutions do. They feel that all these organizations replace congregational attachment, or that they evoke a temporary enthusiasm, or that their religious influence is virtually nothing. While it may seem arrogant upon the part of this committee to venture a judgment upon the conclusions of our colleagues, we feel that perhaps Rabbi Hecht has briefly and wisely said a word upon the subject of which we may say "this is the end of the matter:" "It (the religious and social influence) is imponderable." It is beyond us to calculate what good has been effected

by these innovations. "Only my back shalt thou see." Truth is vouchsafed to attend to whatsoever our ingenuity shall conscientiously devise today. We must leave to another generation the judgment as to what the influence has been.

This committee then recommends to the Conference:

First—That it lend its support to all such activities as our colleagues have here instituted in their own congregations, and that it continue in favor all activities reverently conceived that have for their purpose the establishing of the congregation as the central organization of the Jewish communal life.

Second—That the Committee on Social and Religious Union be charged with the duty of making further inquiry and gathering further statistics along the lines of this report.

Third—That special investigation be made during the coming year of the young people's organizations, and that some plan of co-operation be devised that shall give uniformity to the efforts of such societies.

Fourth—That letters be sent to congregational officers urging upon them the encouragement of such activities as will mark the congregation as the central force in the Jewish life of their various communities.

Fifth—We recommend that this committee be instructed to do what it can to substitute for cheap and unworthy entertainments under Jewish auspices lectures and other entertainments that shall be found worthy of a place in Jewish institutions.

Sixth—That this Conference address a letter to the faculties of Jewish theological schools suggesting the advisability of introducing a course in social science as a part of the regular curriculum.

B.

The most important work intrusted to the committee during the past year was the institution of a Lyceum Bureau of Lectures, whose object it was to supply to congregations and other Jewish institutions lectures on Jewish topics at a minimum of expense. To this end your committee issued, early in the year, a prospectus stating therein the names of lecturers and their subjects, and urging upon congregations, lodges and Jewish societies the advisability of engaging these lecturers through our bureau. Of course, the main purpose we had in view was to bring the message of Judaism to a wider circle, and secondly, to substitute for the insipid and utterly unworthy entertainments that are frequently given under the auspices of Jewish institutions dignified and healthy programs, the character and influence of which could not be questioned. Of this prospectus some 800 copies were distributed to various organizations, and the responses received indicated a very healthy interest in the matter and gave promise that for the coming year there will be a wide demand for the men who will register with our bureau. Two facts militated

against our greater success this year. One was that our prospectus appeared so late in the year that in most cases programs had already been arranged for the season, the delay being due, it should be said incidentally, to the tardiness that is characteristic of our men in answering letters. The second reason was that the chairman of your committee was compelled by reason of severe illness to lay down his work early in December; and so, from that time on, it was practically at a standstill. Courses of lectures, however, were actually given in Mt. Vernon, Ind.; Bay City, Mich., and Cripple Creek, Col., while as a result of this committee's activities regular Sunday services were established in Jackson, Mich. I am sure that had we been able to carry out our campaign of education a little more aggressively, and had we given our efforts wider publicity instead of three or four lecture courses, we should have conducted many times that number. The benefits of the work cannot be questioned. To cite the case of Mt. Vernon, where four lectures were given, I am in receipt of letters stating that nothing that could possibly have come to that community could so have stirred the Jewishness of the people as this course of lectures. The work of this bureau, experimental in its first year, will become a real force for good as it grows older. The expenses connected with the conducting of the bureau this year was about one-third of the amount allowed your committee at last year's Conference. In connection with the Lyceum Bureau we beg to make several recommendations.

First—That the work of conducting the Lyceum Bureau be entrusted to a special and separate committee, and that it be taken out of the hands of the Committee on Social and Religious Union, whose special work is sufficient to engage the energies of one committee.

Second—That a charge of \$1 per lecturer furnished be made by the Conference to cover cost of printing and postage.*

Third—That a sum not exceeding \$200 be put at the disposal of the Lyceum Bureau Committee for the coming year for circular and newspaper advertising, and for such other expenses as may of necessity be incurred in giving publicity to its work.

Fourth—That this committee be authorized to arrange with prominent Jews not members of this organization to deliver addresses under its auspices.

Fifth—That no names be published in the forthcoming prospectus unless they be accompanied by definite lecture subjects.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

LEO M. FRANKLIN, *Chairman.*

LOUIS WOLSEY.

LOUIS BERNSTEIN.

MAX C. CURRICK.

*This article was amended to the effect that the lecturer charge a fee of \$1 per lecture, which fee is to be applied to the running expenses of the Lyceum Bureau.

Recommendations I, II and III of the first portion of the report, dealing with work of social and religious union, were adopted.

Recommendations IV, V and VI were rejected.

The Chair—We will now proceed to the portion of the report relating to the Lyceum Bureau.

Recommendation I was adopted.

Recommendation II was amended to the effect that the lecturer charge a fee of one dollar (\$1) per lecture, which fee is to be applied to the running expenses of the bureau.

Recommendation III was referred to the Finance Committee.

Recommendation IV was referred back to the committee with the instruction to bring before the Conference next year a more definite plan.

Recommendation V was adopted.

The Chair—I will ask for the report of the special committee that was appointed this morning. Other reports may be contingent upon this. It referred to one paragraph of the President's message.

The report of the special committee, amending Paragraph XI of the report of the Committee on President's Message, was then read and adopted.

AMENDMENT TO REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE, ARTICLE XI.

The creation of a standing Committee on Finance is approved, to whom shall be referred all recommendations of appropriation of money, reporting to the Conference if in session, otherwise to the Executive Committee.

It shall submit to the Conference at its annual meeting a complete report of the finances of the Conference.

It shall submit to the Executive Committee at its fall meeting a financial report and a budget for the year.

This committee shall consist of the Corresponding Secretary, as Chairman, and two members of the Executive Committee.

The necessary amendment to the by-laws of our constitution is hereby moved.

Respectfully submitted,

MOSES J. GRIES.

I. E. MARCUSON.

JULIAN MORGENSTERN.

Rabbi Morgenstern—Your committee also offers the following amendment to Art. III, Sec. 6, of the By-Laws:

Amendment to Art. III, Sec. 6, of the By-Laws to read:

The Committee on Investments, of which the Treasurer shall be a member, shall invest all funds of the Conference, subject to the instructions of the Executive Committee.

It shall present to the Conference at its annual meeting a complete report of investments, duly audited.

The Chair—This is an amendment to the by-laws and can be adopted by a two-thirds vote.

The amendment was adopted by the necessary two-thirds vote.

The following recommendation was also offered by Rabbis Gries, Marcuson and Morgenstern, and was on motion adopted by the necessary two-thirds vote.

We recommend that Article II, of the By-Laws of the Constitution, be so arranged as to contain the names of the temporary committees of the Conference and the duties thereof, and Article III the names of the standing committees and the duties thereof.

In place of a report of the Committee on the Revision of the Union Hymnal, the Chair called upon Rabbi David Marx, who set forth most forcibly the need of revising the Hymnal.

Rabbi Stern moved that the Committees on the Revision of the Union Hymnal and on Synagogal Music be consolidated, and that all matters relating to music be referred to this new committee, and that to this committee be entrusted the revision of the Union Hymnal, upon which it shall report at the next Conference. Seconded and carried.

The Committee on Tracts presented a supplementary report, which, on motion, was taken up seriatim.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON TRACTS.

Your Committee on Tracts would further recommend:

1. A second edition of 10,000 copies of Tract I.
2. The sending of ten copies free for distribution to each member of the

Conference, together with the statement that more can be procured upon special request.

3. The sending of one copy gratuitously to every Rabbi in America whose address is obtainable.

4. The selling of our tracts in quantities to congregations at a nominal price to be determined by the Executive Committee.

5. The securing of information from other religious bodies as to their methods of distributing tracts.

6. The authorization of an expenditure of \$500.00 during the coming year for reprints and for the publication and distribution of new tracts.

7. The adoption of an amendment to the by-laws of the constitution to the effect that we have a standing Committee on Tracts, which shall have charge of the publication and distribution of tracts subject to the Executive Committee.

Respectfully submitted,

DAVID PHILIPSON.

MAX HELLER.

JOSEPH STOLZ.

Recommendations I, II, III, IV and V were adopted.¹ Recommendation VI was referred to the Committee on Finance. Recommendation VII, being an amendment of the by-laws, was adopted by the necessary two-thirds vote.

The report of the Committee on President's Message, in so far as it referred to the work of the Committee on Tracts, was then considered seriatim and adopted. On motion the report of the Committee on President's Message as amended was adopted as a whole.

In place of a regular report from the Committee on Scriptural Readings, Dr. M. A. Meyer, speaking for the committee, suggested that it be continued for another year; that the members of the Conference be given until January 1 to send all suggestions as to the work of the committee to the Chairman, Dr. M. H. Harris, and that the committee report thereon at the next Conference. The suggestion was concurred in.

The report of the Committee on Union Haggadah was presented.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON UNION HAGGADAH.

To the President and Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis:

The Committee on Union Haggadah, acting under instructions of the last year's Conference (1907), met in the city of Philadelphia, January 22, 1907, to prepare a second edition of the Union Haggadah. Rabbis Guttmacher, Salzman, Kohut and Berkowitz were in attendance, Rubinstein, Rappaport and Kohler absent.

The committee carefully revised the text in accordance with suggestions, emendations and corrections received. It was also agreed to use a larger and clearer Hebrew type for the devotional portions in order to make the same serviceable for instruction in the schools. A number of other improvements in the typography and general make up of the little book were introduced. An edition of 2,500 was published, of which 1,000 copies were bound in cloth in time for use at Passover. The plates have been stored in the fireproof vaults in which the agents of the Conference (Bloch Publishing Company, of New York) keep its other properties.

The committee reports with much gratification the general satisfaction with which this publication has been received, and the practical constructive results achieved through its use in restoring the Sedar service in many Jewish homes.

The committee asks to be discharged.

Respectfully submitted by order of the committee,

HENRY BERKOWITZ, *Chairman.*

Rabbi J. Stolz—I move you that the report be received, the committee discharged, and that henceforth the Haggadah be put into the charge of the Publication Committee. Seconded and carried.

Rabbi Gries—I move you that the question of the printing of the Haggadah songs independently be referred to the Executive Committee. Seconded and carried.

The report of the Committee on Domestic Service was presented and on motion accepted.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON DOMESTIC SERVICE.

To the President and Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis:

Your Committee on Domestic Service met in Philadelphia, March 23, 1908, for organization at the call of the Chairman. Dr. Geo. A. Kohut was elected Secretary. The committee planned out its work, assigning the several sections to its members, Rabbis Rubenstein, Salzman, Mendoza, Simon, Kohut and Berkowitz, and then adjourned to complete the manuscript and

meet for its final redaction. Owing to the resignation of Kohut, the illness of Mendoza and the departure for Europe of Simon, the final meeting was not held.

Because of the disappointments above cited the committee is unable to present a completed manuscript, and therefore asks for more time and for the appointment of members to fill vacancies.

Respectfully submitted by order of the committee,

HENRY BERKOWITZ, *Chairman*.

The report of the Committee on Additional Friday Evening Services was presented and on motion accepted.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO CONSIDER THE NEED OF ADDITIONAL FRIDAY EVENING SERVICES.

GENTLEMEN—At our last convention a resolution, offered by Rabbi E. Kahn and Prof. G. Deutsch, was lost (p. 142), recommending that a committee be appointed to prepare and publish a series of supplementary Friday evening services to be used in addition to the present service in the Union Prayer Book (p. 36).

On the other hand, a motion was carried (p. 149) that the Executive Committee appoint a committee to consider the need of supplementary Friday evening services.

The Chairman wrote for an expression of opinion to all but one of the members of the committee, but received the reply of only Rabbi Kahn, strongly favoring the publication of such services. The Chairman cannot concur with these views, so that whatever consideration has been given to the subject by the committee has failed of leading to a recommendation by the committee.

MAX HELLER, *Chairman*.

The report of the Committee on Weekday Services was presented and on motion referred to the Executive Committee.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON WEEKDAY SERVICES.

To the President and Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis:

GENTLEMEN—Your Committee on Weekday Services begs to report that during the past year it finished its work, complying in every respect with the instructions of the last Conference. An edition of 2,000 copies of the service book was printed. Of this number The Temple of Cleveland and Temple Adath Israel of Louisville purchased 500 bound copies each, and Temple Beth-El, of Detroit, 250 bound copies. A paper bound copy was sent to

every member of the Conference for examination, and the remaining copies are in New York awaiting the orders of the Conference. Negotiations have also been conducted with the Rabbis of other congregations with a view of having the booklet introduced. A financial statement has been transmitted to the President and the Secretary of the Conference, and will be submitted to you in due course by the Executive Committee.

Respectfully submitted,

H. G. ENELOW.

MOSES J. GRIES.

June 27, 1908.

The report of the Committee on Ministers' Handbook was read by Dr. J. Stolz in the absence of the Chairman, Rabbi Schanfarber.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON MINISTERS' HANDBOOK.

FRANKFORT, July 7, 1908.

To the President and Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis:

In accordance with the resolution adopted at the last Conference (Year Book XVII, page 94), your committee carefully considered the suggestions and emendations submitted, and in the month of April sent to each member of the Conference the thirteen galleys of manuscript as amended and enlarged, soliciting further corrections, suggestions and emendations. In response four letters and eleven corrected manuscripts were received.

Your committee would urge the members to submit their suggestions and corrections within the next three months, and would recommend that after passing judgment upon the same, the committee be empowered to print and bind 750 copies, one copy to be given gratuitously to each member of the Conference, and the remainder to be sold at a price to be determined by the Executive Committee.

Respectfully submitted,

T. SCHANFARBER.

JOSEPH STOLZ.

SAMUEL HIRSHBERG.

H. W. ETTELSON.

Moved and seconded that the members of the Conference be given until January 1 to send to the committee any changes or corrections in the manuscript already submitted for their approval; that the committee then prepare and submit to the members before April 1 a new manuscript embodying the proposed changes and corrections approved of by the committee, and that the committee then make final report to the Conference at its next convention. Carried.

On motion, duly seconded and carried, the Round Table discussion of Rabbi Guttmacher, on "How to Conduct a Bible Class," was continued until next year.

Rabbi Foster was, on motion duly seconded and carried, invited to prepare a paper for the next Conference on the subject, "The Workingman and the Synagogue," in place of his Round Table discussion of the same subject, postponed this year.

Adjourned.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 8, 1908.

The convention was opened with prayer by Rabbi Harry Weiss. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

The report of the Auditing Committee was presented and adopted.

REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE.

To the President and Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis:

We, the members of the Auditing Committee, beg leave to submit to your honorable body the following report:

We have carefully gone over the accounts of the Treasurer and find the same to be correct.

We desire to express the thanks of the Conference to the Treasurer for the exact and conscientious manner in which he has carried out the duties of his office, and for the care he has shown in keeping his accounts.

We would recommend that the Treasurer issue to the members a receipt from a duplicate numbered receipt book, so that the stub or copy can be at hand for reference and comparison. Respectfully submitted,

I. E. MARCUSON.

J. H. STOLZ.

E. FRISCH.

JOS. RAUCH.

The report of the Committee on Auditing the Report of the Publication Committee was presented, and on motion was taken up seriatim.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON AUDITING THE REPORT OF
THE PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis:

Your committee appointed to audit the report of the Committee on Publications begs leave to make the following report:

We have audited the accounts as presented by the Publication Committee and our agent, the Bloch Publishing Company, and find them in full agreement.

We note, however, the omission of the report of the expert accountant, thus leaving us wholly dependent upon the report of our agent as to the correctness of stock on hand and the stock in the bindery, bound and unbound.

We note with gratification the gratuitous distribution of tracts, year books, sermons and important reprints for missionary purposes, and commend the generosity of the Conference towards penal, corrective and philanthropic institutions that are supplied with prayer books and hymnals free of cost or at reduced cost.

Whereas, Many of our reprints, though having a list price, are distributed gratis, we recommend that all such works for gratuitous distribution, excepting our year books and sermons, be inventoried without appraisement, and distributed subject to the order of the Corresponding Secretary or the Executive Committee under its regulations.

Your committee furthermore recommends that an eleventh edition of 5,000 copies of Vols. I and II each of the Union Prayer Book be printed, also 5,000 of the Sabbath morning and evening service, and the binding of as many copies as may be required during the coming year when ordered by the Executive Board.

We also recommend that the republication of all works of the Conference for which plates have been secured shall first be ordered by the Executive Committee, by whom it shall be given over in charge of the Publication Committee.

The request of the Publication Committee for reduction of the price of the 400 shelf-worn copies of Vol. II, morocco bound, from \$2 to \$1.50, which is still above the cost price of the book, is hereby granted.

We are pleased with the further introduction of the Union Prayer Book into twelve congregations and many institutions during the past year, and note with pleasure the fact that 261 congregations have adopted our prayer book, of which 92,099 copies have been sold during the past fourteen years.

We would recommend that hereafter in the reports of the Publication Committee a comparative statement be made, showing the number of books given over to the agent during the past year, the number of books in the bindery, and the stock on hand at the time of the presenting of the report, thereby keeping better supervision over the stock of the Conference. Such report shall be obtained from the expert accountant, to whom specific instruc-

tions shall be given to count all stock held by the agent, all held by the binderies, and also by any of the committees who have charge of the publications of the Conference.

Your committee would recommend that hereafter no work be given for publication, printing and binding without first obtaining bids for the same, the award to be given the lowest bidder, all other conditions being equal.

We recommend that the Bloch Publishing Company be instructed to respect no order of any member of the Conference for any of the Conference publications unless countersigned by the Corresponding Secretary, and furthermore, that the account of the publications of the Conference be henceforth kept distinct from all other accounts.

We would also suggest that our agent state henceforth in his report the institutions to which, as well as the names of the persons through whom, books are sent free, and the purpose thereof.

We recommend that the custodianship of our valuable plates be in charge of such persons and in such place of safety as shall be authorized by the Executive Committee.

Finally, we recommend that the contract for the agency of the publications of the Conference be renewed for one year with the Bloch Publishing Company, who have satisfactorily carried out the conditions of the same during the past year.

Respectfully submitted,

CHARLES S. LEVI, *Chairman.*

GEORGE SOLOMON.

JACOB MIELZINER.

LEONARD ROTHSTEIN.

EMANUEL KAHN.

Recommendations I to VIII adopted.

Rabbi Gries moved that Recommendation IX be referred to the Executive Committee, with instructions to renew the contract with the Bloch Publishing Company for the year, after first determining the particular terms of the contract. Seconded and carried.

On motion the report as amended was then adopted as a whole. The report of the Committee on Resolutions was presented.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS. -

To the President and Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis:

Your Committee on Resolutions, after carefully considering the matters presented to it, begs leave to report as follows:

1. The resolution concerning the Einhorn centenary, which read as follows:

"Inasmuch as the 10th day of November, 1909, will be the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of David Einhorn, the staunch-hearted, uncompromising and consistent champion of Reform in Judaism in Germany and America;

"Inasmuch as David Einhorn, owing to his clearness of vision, his firmness of principles, and his self-sacrificing zeal and devotion to the cause, will forever shine as one of the brightest stars in the galaxy of German Reform pioneers, alongside of Geiger, Holdheim and Hirsch, he having stood in the front ranks of the Reform leaders, while insisting upon a positive Jewish system of faith and of practice;

"Inasmuch as David Einhorn occupies a distinguished place in the history of American Judaism as a Reform theologian, who at the Philadelphia Conference of Rabbis framed the principles upon which the entire inner development of American Reform Judaism hinges, and whose Prayer Book, the work of a true religious genius, became the pattern of the American Reform Ritual, particularly the Union Prayer Book;

*"Be it Resolved, That the Central Conference of American Rabbis, at its next year's convention, commemorate the David Einhorn Centenary, and appoint a member of its body to write an exhaustive essay on The Life of David Einhorn, and His Place in the History of Reform Judaism; and two or more members to discuss such paper,"**

is indorsed.

2. Inasmuch as the Conference has adopted the suggestion of the President's Message creating a Committee on Finance, your committee recommends that the following resolutions be referred to the Committee on Finance, with direction that it deal with them as it deems best.

I. The resolution calling for a subvention to help defray the expenses of publication of the second volume of Dr. Neumark's work.**

II. The resolution calling upon the Conference to vote \$50.00 to Mr. Lazarus Shapiro upon the completion of his translation into English of "Midrash Bereshith Rabba," and a similar sum upon the completion of the

* Signed by Rabbis Kohler, Enelow, Rosenau, Guttmacher, Krauskopf and Schulman.

** The second volume of Prof. David Neumark's work is ready for the press. Its publication will entail a large expense on the part of the author.

WHEREAS, Said work is the production of one whom we can now justly and proudly call an American Jewish scholar, and a member of the Conference; be it

Resolved, That the Conference vote Dr. Neumark a subvention to help defray the cost of publication.

(Signed) WILLIAM ROSENAU,
H. G. ENELow.

translation of each book of "Midrash Rabba," and that ten copies of the work be deposited in the archives of the C. C. A. R.*

3. The request of Mr. Ehrlich for a subvention of \$200.00 your committee refers to the Executive Committee.

4. Your committee recommends that formal resolutions of condolence be drafted by the Executive Committee of this Conference and sent to the families of Drs. Felsenthal, Voorsanger and Rev. Alois Kaiser, and that the Corresponding Secretary comply with the recommendations for the expression of sympathy to the families of certain eminent Jews who have died during the past year, contained in the report of the Committee on Contemporaneous History.

5. Your committee endorses the following resolution, and recommends that the Executive Committee take this matter up and fix such a sum to defray the expenses of the Corresponding Secretary as it deems necessary:

INASMUCH as the scope of the Conference has become very much widened in recent years, and puts a great deal of clerical labor on the Corresponding Secretary; be it therefore

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be instructed to fix an annual allowance for the office of Corresponding Secretary.**

6. Your committee recommends that the following resolution be referred to the Committee on Church and State for consideration, with instructions to report at the next Conference:

Resolved, That the C. C. A. R. request the National Committee of English, that fixes the required English studies for entrance to universities, to remove from the prescribed curriculum the "Merchant of Venice."***

7. Your committee recommends the adoption of the following resolution:

We, the undersigned, recommend that a special committee be appointed to compile a list of books for reference and supplementary reading, which a Sabbath School Library ought to have, and that this list be printed and sent to the superintendents of all Jewish Sabbath Schools.****

8. Your committee concurs in the following resolution:

* WHEREAS, The cause of Jewish learning is furthered by the translation of our classics into the vernacular; and

WHEREAS, Mr. Lazarus Shapiro, of New York City, is engaged in the translation of the Midrash Rabba into English; be it

Resolved, That the C. C. A. R. express its approval of the splendid work undertaken by Mr. Shapiro, and that the C. C. A. R. vote Mr. Shapiro a subvention of fifty dollars at the completion of the Bereshith Rabba; the same sum to be voted at the completion of each book; ten copies of the work to be deposited in the archives of the C. C. A. R.

(Signed) MARTIN MEYER,
SOLOMON FOSTER.

** Signed by M. Newfield and J. S. Kornfeld.

*** Signed by J. S. Kornfeld.

**** Signed by J. Mielziner, D. Alexander and Jacob H. Kaplan.

Resolved, That as soon as papers have been assigned by the Executive Committee, and as soon as members have undertaken to write the same, the title of such papers be made known to the members of the Conference by the Secretary.*

Respectfully submitted,

NATHAN KRASS, *Chairman*,
NATHAN STERN,
GEORGE ZEPIN,
A. ANSPACHER,
SAMUEL HIRSHBERG,
M. NEWFIELD,
W. H. GREENBURG,
J. S. KORNFELD,
J. H. KAPLAN,
HARRY WEISS,
L. BERNSTEIN.

The report was on motion taken up seriatim and each recommendation adopted. The report was then adopted as a whole.

Moved and carried that all resolutions presented to the Conference and referred to the Committee on Resolutions, but upon which no action was taken or which were not concurred in, be omitted from the year book.

The report of the Committee on Thanks was called for.

Rabbi Marx—As Chairman of the Committee on Thanks, I did not deem it advisable to call my committee together. It is a purely perfunctory committee, for the purpose of thanking the citizens of the various places in which we meet for the expressions of kindness received at their hands. Since we have not met in any community this year we deem this unnecessary. I consider it proper, however, and within the province of this committee, to extend our thanks to the President for the very just, kindly and efficient manner in which he has presided over this gathering; and I suggest that this assembly express its appreciation by a rising vote.

(The Conference rose unanimously.)

The Chair—Your President deeply appreciates your action.

Rabbi Gries—I do not wish to evade any business that requires action. There are two things I desire accordingly to bring to the attention of the Conference. The first is that we endeavor through

* Signed by William Rosenau and A. S. Anspacher.

the Executive Committee to furnish the newspapers of the country a syndicate account of our Jewish holy days, etc., at the proper season, to take the place of the silly stories that are constantly published.

On motion the suggestion was referred to the Executive Committee.

Rabbi Gries—The second matter relates to what I believe to be an important need for all of us, viz., a confirmation text book. While I am not prepared to make a definite recommendation now, I wish to bring the matter to the attention of the Conference.

The Chair—The whole matter will be referred to the proper committee.

Rabbi Gries—One more point, viz., touching the place of meeting. I move, simply to get an expression of opinion, that it be the sense of this Conference that we meet next year in the eastern portion of the United States. Seconded and carried.

Moved and carried that the selection of a place of meeting for the next Conference be referred to the Executive Committee.

The report of the Committee on Nominations was presented, and was adopted unanimously.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS.

Your Committee on Nominations begs leave to report as follows:

<i>For Honorary President</i>	K. Kohler
<i>President</i>	David Philipson
<i>Vice-President</i>	Max Heller
<i>Treasurer</i>	Charles S. Levi
<i>Recording Secretary</i>	David Lefkowitz
<i>Corresponding Secretary</i>	Julian Morgenstern

And for the Executive Committee:

Henry Berkowitz,	D. Marx,
H. G. Enelow,	Morris Newfield,
William H. Greenburg,	Isaac L. Rypins,
M. J. Gries,	Samuel Schulman,
Adolph Guttmacher,	Joseph Stolz.
S. Hirshberg,	

Rabbi Aaron J. Messing, of Chicago, a charter member of the Conference and the oldest member present, both in age and in

length of service in the Rabbinate, was then invited to speak a few parting words to the Conference. Rabbi Messing spoke forcibly and feelingly of the growth of the reform movement, the greater portion of which he had himself witnessed, and to which he had contributed, and concluded with an eloquent tribute to the memory of the illustrious founder of the Conference, the pioneer of American Reform Judaism, Isaac M. Wise.

The Chair—And now, brethren, this Conference is coming to a close. It has been a very notable conference and has made history, if for no other reason than that we have decided to co-operate with a sister organization for the English translation of the Bible under Jewish auspices. For other reasons also this Conference will pass into history. We have taken the initiative in planning a work on systematic theology. It will be an important work for Judaism. During the year we have begun to issue tracts. Our work is growing. May it continue to grow as a blessing to Judaism and as a blessing to mankind. And now, dear friends, the closing prayer and benediction will be given by our Honorary President, the man whom we all honor, whose scholarship is pre-eminent, and who during this week has endeared himself more and more to the men who have gone out from the college.

The closing prayer and benediction were pronounced by Dr. Kohler.

The Conference adjourned *sine die*.

SUMMARY.

Fifty-seven members in attendance, the expenses of more than half of whom were paid by their congregations.

Memorial addresses in honor of Dr. Bernhard Felsenthal, Dr. Jacob Voorsanger and Rev. Alois Kaiser. Memorial resolutions adopted in honor of Judah Wechsler and Grover Cleveland. Expressions of appreciation of the life, and sympathy in the death of Hirsch Bernstein, Judah Steinberg, Joshua Bershadski, Emanuel Baumgarten, Abraham Goldfaden, Gustav Oppert, Hartvig Derenbourg, Albert Loewy, Esther Ruskay, Charles S. Hallgarten, Otto Salomon, Eduard Glaser and August Bondi.

Message of appreciation of their labors in the cause of Reform Judaism in Germany sent to Geh. Oberreg, Rabbiner Dr. D. Meyer of Karlsruhe and Stadtrabbiner Dr. M. Steckelmacher of Mannheim.

New edition of the Union Prayer Book ordered.

Plan of the Committee on Geiger Centenary for a Geiger Memorial volume approved.

The Sabbath School journal, "Young Israel," heartily endorsed, and resolution passed that a communication expressing this endorsement be sent to the congregations of the country.

Standing Committee on Tracts created. Resolved to omit henceforth the foreword to all Conference Tracts, that these represent only the individual opinions of the author.

Resolution passed that the Conference send communication to all Rabbis in towns near colleges, urging them to interest themselves in the religious welfare of the Jewish students of these colleges, and particularly to encourage their attendance at the synagogue on the holy days.

First steps taken toward the establishment of a permanent religious-school exhibit.

Recommendation of the Committee on Church and State adopted, that hereafter whenever it be necessary for the Jews of any community to take public action on, or notice of any matter of interest to the community, an earnest effort be made to secure unanimity of sentiment and action on the part of the entire community.

Plan of the Jewish Publication Society of America for the preparation and publication of a new English translation of the Bible in the Jewish spirit endorsed, and the appointment of a committee of three to represent the Conference on the joint Board of Editors, which is to be composed in addition of an equal number of representatives of the Publication Society and the Editor-in-Chief, authorized.

The suggestions of the President in his message regarding the establishment of services in summer resorts, the issuance of a journal, and the endorse-

ment of the present child-labor campaign approved and committees appointed to consider the feasibility of and propose plans for the first two. Resolution passed that a special appeal be made to congregations and individuals for the support of the Relief Fund of the Conference.

Standing Committee on Finance created.

Resolution passed that the Conference publish a work on the subject, "Is This a Christian Country?" and a tract on the subject, "The Jew in America."

The plan of the Committee on Theology that a work consisting of eleven or more essays on the fundamental principles of Jewish Theology, each essay to be prepared by a different scholar, recognized as an authority in that field, approved.

Work of the Jewish Publication Society of America heartily endorsed.

Standing Committee on Lyceum Bureau created. Resolved that a fee of one dollar be charged each lecturer for whom a lecture is arranged by the Bureau.

Second edition of 10,000 copies of Tract I, "What Do Jews Believe?" ordered.

Resolution passed that the centenary of the birth of David Einhorn in November, 1910, be fittingly celebrated by the Conference.

Appendix

A

MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT, RABBI DAVID PHILIPSON, TO THE NINETEENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS, HELD AT FRANKFORT, MICH., JULY 1, 1908.

Colleagues and Friends:

The observer who is at all sensitive to the signs of the times can not but be impressed by the many evidences of activity in contemporary Judaism. There has been no time in the century-old existence of our faith when there has been more feverish unrest accompanied by more varied accomplishment than is the case in this opening decade of the twentieth century. There has been no land among all the countries where Jews have settled, since the days of the earliest dispersion, where the vexing problems of life and experience, of creed and deed, of duty and destiny, of the everlasting yeas and nays, as expressed and interpreted by Judaism, have received more earnest attention than in this United States. Here the representatives of every possible shade of belief, opinion and practice speak, write, strive and struggle in advocacy of their particular point of view; here the latest immigrant from eastern Europe bringing with him his devoted attachment to a rule and practice of Judaism which has long ceased to be acceptable to the generations reared on these shores during the past three-quarter century finds himself cast into a new environment which sooner or later, if not for himself personally then for his children, will make imperative many changes in the views held by his fathers and his fathers' fathers. Here in a free atmosphere Judaism is working out an experiment so charged with significance for all our future that we who are

in the thick of the action should indeed attempt at times to take our bearings and aim to ascertain whither we are away.

In this marvelous amalgam which we term American Judaism there are ingredients of every kind; all sorts of Jewish "isms" are seething in this cauldron—no view so extreme but that it has its protagonists; the gamut runs from the Jewish nationalist, who may be an atheist (strange contradiction of terms), through every possible shade of opinion to the Jewish radical, whose religion is a series of pale negations. But are we justified in speaking of an American Judaism? There has been frequent caviling at this term. It is claimed that Judaism is universal and may not be defined nor confined by any geographical term. True, Judaism is a universal religion, but in its manifold experiences on this planet it has developed along peculiar lines in different lands and eras; when historians contrast Palestinian with Hellenistic Judaism we quite understand the two diverse tendencies which these terms connote; likewise when Babylonian or Spanish Judaism is spoken of a distinct picture is presented to the mind; German Judaism has taken a different course from Russian Judaism; and so also American Judaism stands forth in a form and semblance all its own. In this land the extremes touch as nowhere else; the modern progressive spirit engages in unrelenting though silent combat with all the forces that make for reactionism in any of its various forms. For this modern progressive spirit in Judaism this Conference stands. When it was organized its immortal founder declared that it carried on in a direct line the work of the German rabbinical conferences of the fifth decade of the nineteenth century. All the achievements of this Conference and all its declarations have been pervaded by the spirit of progressive modernism that characterized those conferences. It has charged the many problems in our American Jewish life from this point of attack. It has combined, however, with this modernism a wise conservatism, a reverent attitude towards the body of Jewish tradition. Every new situation has been studied in the light of the past conditions that have led up to it, and in providing for the exigencies of the new situation the aim has always been to

re-interpret Jewish tradition on the basis of the well-known principle of *horaat sha'ah*, "the need of the time," occasionally applied by the rabbis of old also. This Conference then represents the principle of continuous development in Judaism, and of the progressive revelation of God throughout the ages. History is the revelation of God just as surely as the inspired words of the religious geniuses, the prophets ancient and modern. The finger of God is as apparent in the course of Judaism in this land of freedom as it was in the deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt, the period of preparation in the land of Palestine and the destruction of Jerusalem with the accompanying change from a national existence to a universal experience. Not backward to the past, but forward with the conviction that Judaism has within itself the power of an ever progressive, ever developing divine revelation, this has been and I hope ever will be the standpoint and the motto of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

But I hear it said that since the day of the organization of this Conference the face of the American Jewish universe has greatly changed; that, owing to the arrival of masses of immigrants during the past twenty years our religious situation is altogether different from what it was before. Dismay has seized many. The tide of reactionism has swept them off their feet. The optimistic note of the leaders of the nineteenth century has changed in many quarters to a pessimistic wail. The despairers cry that the progressive tendency that this Conference represents can not possibly hold its own against the overwhelming odds that spell reactionism, ghettoism, romanticism, neo-nationalism and neo-orthodoxy. In spite of many untoward signs I firmly believe that there is no cause for despair, dismay and disheartenment. Ghettoism and reactionism are merely passing phases in the americanization of our most recently arrived brethren. Let us have no fear! American Judaism will not be ghettoized nor russianized, but our Russian brethren under the spell of the spirit of our free institutions will be americanized, and if not this first generation then their children and their children's children will stand with the descendants of the earlier comers

to this land as the representatives of that union of progressive modernity and sane conservatism which this Conference symbolizes. In the process of americanization all the perverted viewpoints that are now distorting the vision of many otherwise excellent people will go the way of all the other extravagant notions wherewith the onward course of civilization has been diverted for a brief spell. Such fads as the glorifying of *Yiddish* as the national language of the Jews, such vain discussions as to whether there is a Jewish art or no, such empty dreams as the political rehabilitation of the Jewish state (which, by the way, is something altogether different from the arousing of Jewish consciousness, the desire of all sincere Jews, whatever be their attitude on disputed issues) will all pass as interesting incidents in the strange medley of this period of transition. And that which shall remain will be the great fundamental ideal of the mission of the Jews (I fear not to use this phrase, although it has become fashionable in certain quarters of late to gibe at it) as a people of religion and of Judaism as a religious force through all the world. As such Jew and Judaism must accommodate institution and ceremony to the developing changes of different times and different places. Every age is the modern age compared with the foregoing. The eighteenth century was modern in its time, as is the twentieth in its day. Accordingly this accommodation by which the fundamental truths of Judaism are clothed in ever-changing mold is what I mean by progressive modernism, and what I meant also when I said that our Conference is an organ of this progressive modernism. The shibboleths of a past day, reform and orthodoxy, still have power to arouse their advocate, although not to such a pitch as in that former day. But be it said that as far as this country is concerned what we call reform is a driving force. For reform is progressive modernism, and even our so-called conservative brethren are caught in that whirl. It is simply a question of more or less. In our Conference, for example, and I am happy that this is the case, there are many men of many minds; radical and conservative are included in our membership, but they all unite on this platform of progress

and modernity, applying the developing spirit of Jewish tradition to our peculiar needs and our peculiar situation. Such being the case the Conference has always been a unifying agent. It bridges the various tendencies among us. It is the foremost sign and symbol in our American Jewish life of the fundamental fact that Judaism's message to the world is a religious message, and that the congregation through the rabbi is the representative Jewish organization. It has ever aimed to harmonize the living elements in the past with the religious aspirations of the present. As such, too, it has always been a conservative force. But let it never be forgotten, a conservative force animated by the liberal progressive spirit. Thus must it continue, a positive agency in our American Judaism for the strengthening of the Jewish spirit, a constructive power that shall successfully grapple with the many perplexing problems that are confronting us constantly, a true representative religious organization of American Jewry—building firmly on the past foundations, and mindful of the demands of the present, working hand in hand with the many splendid associations in our variegated Jewish activity, with thought ever directed to the realization of the prophetic program of *b'rith am, or goyim*, that Judaism may become in all truth the light of the world through the devoted service of the covenant people, Israel, God's servant.

THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PAST YEAR.

The widely ramified activity of the Conference during the past year is indicative of this, its character and aim as just sketched. A summary of the achievements of the Conference during the year just ending, together with a statement of such resolutions adopted at last year's convention as dealt with congregational activity, was sent to the congregations presided over by the members of our body. The object of this was to bring the Conference into close touch with the congregations and to enable the congregations to work hand in hand with the Conference. One result of this communication

to the congregations was an action taken by the Bene Jeshurun congregation of Cincinnati contributing fifty dollars to the pension fund of the Conference for superannuated ministers. I recommend that the preparation and distribution of such a summary of the year's work be made a standing feature of the activities of the Conference. The Lyceum Bureau of the Conference prepared and issued a list of lectures and lecturers. A number of communities availed themselves of the opportunities offered by the bureau. The Year Book of two hundred and seventy-nine pages was printed and widely distributed. Reprints of the papers, *The Origin and Function of Ceremonies in Judaism* by Dr. K. Kohler, and *Moses Hayyim Luzzatto* by Rabbi Isaac Landman were made. A new and revised edition of twenty-five hundred copies of the Union Haggadah was printed. A manuscript edition of two thousand copies of the Week-Day services, for use in congregations conducting services on Sunday, was printed. A new edition of one thousand copies of the Sabbath evening and morning services was published. A new edition of over two thousand copies of the Union Hymnal was printed. The work of issuing Jewish tracts was inaugurated; the first of these tracts, *What Do Jews Believe?* by Dr. H. G. Enelow, of Louisville, was issued in an edition of ten thousand copies and distributed broadcast, not only to our co-religionists, but to the religious and secular press and the Christian ministry. The Ministers' Hand Book and the Scripture Readings for the forthcoming new edition of the Union Prayer Book were printed as manuscript.

Three thousand two hundred and twenty-six copies of Part I, and two thousand four hundred and fifty-four copies of Part II, of the Union Prayer Book, were sold. Twelve new congregations adopted our prayer book as their ritual, making a total of two hundred and sixty-three congregations now using the book. Three new congregations introduced the Union Hymnal.

Two hundred and fifty dollars, half of the subvention voted by the Conference to the school journal, *Young Israel* was paid, and the publisher of that journal, in consideration of this

support, is sending in the name of the Conference two hundred and fifty copies of the magazine in lots ranging from twenty-five to fifty copies to ten of our philanthropic institutions, notably orphan asylums. Other new activities will be mentioned in their proper places. Sufficient, then, to say that the work of the year gives evidence that the influence of the Conference is constantly growing.

THE BIBLE TRANSLATION

At our last convention your Executive Committee was instructed to enter into negotiations with the Oxford University Press in order to learn whether these publishers would issue for us an edition of the Revised Version of the Bible with such emendations as would make it acceptable for use in Jewish congregations and schools. These negotiations were set on foot, and the publishers of the Revised Version agreed to issue this special edition with an appendix of sixteen pages to be prepared by us, which appendix was to contain the corrections and emendations of the text necessary from the Jewish standpoint. Your President had already assigned the various books of the Bible to certain of our members with the request that they prepare the material for the appendix aforesaid, when he received a letter from the Hon. Mayer Sulzberger, Chairman of the Publication Committee of the Jewish Publication Society of America, suggesting the possibility of a cooperation of the Publication Society with the Conference in this work of issuing an English translation of the Bible, prepared by Jewish scholars under Jewish auspices. A preliminary meeting was held in the City of New York in November which was attended by Judge Mayer Sulzberger and Mr. Cyrus Sulzberger, representing the Publication Society, and the Revs. Dr. Samuel Schulman, Joseph Stolz and your President representing the Conference. The subject was discussed thoroughly, and Judge Sulzberger agreed to lay the matter before the Publication Committee. This Committee, at its meeting in February, resolved to proceed with the work of

publishing this translation, and appointed Dr. Cyrus Adler a committee of one to meet with a representative of our conference to determine whether it would be possible to arrange for cooperation with us in the work. In February I met Dr. Adler in Washington and we reached conclusions mutually satisfactory, which Dr. Adler agreed to lay before the Publication Committee, and I undertook to communicate to the members of our Executive Committee. In answer to a full and detailed statement of the negotiations sent by me to our Executive Committee, I received unanimous and enthusiastic endorsement of the plan to cooperate with the Publication Society in the work. (Thirteen out of fourteen voted in favor, one with a reservation and one did not reply.) Equipped thus with the practically unanimous vote of our Executive Committee, I attended the meeting of the Publication Committee in April. At this meeting the Publication Committee decided that the Publication Society will bear the whole expense of preparing and publishing the translation, but that the Conference, on its part, should agree to put forth every effort through its members to give the work a wide circulation. It was further agreed that the translation is to be prepared under the supervision of an editorial board of seven, three to be appointed by the Publication Committee through its chairman, three by the Conference, the seventh to be the editor-in-chief who is to act as Secretary of the editorial board. The Conference is to receive equal recognition with the Publication Society on the title page of the work. A preface is to be prepared in which the entire history of the movement for an English translation of the Bible by Jewish scholars under Jewish auspices will be recounted. The translation is to be finished and published within two years.

As a matter of course it was not in my power to bind the Conference to this or any other plan, however thoroughly I favored it. The Publication Committee agreed to defer further action in the premises until after this meeting, I having expressed the purpose of laying the entire matter before you for action.

I therefore recommend the reconsideration of our action of last year to enter into negotiations with the Oxford University Press and on the other hand to cooperate with the Publication Society in this work. To my mind, few more gratifying things have occurred in the history of our Conference than this offer of the Publication Committee to work with us in this great undertaking. I believe it will be the first time that two Jewish organizations as representative as the Conference and the Publication Society will have joined hands in the production of a literary monument of such magnitude. I hope that the action of your President and Executive Committee will meet with your approval and receive the endorsement of the Conference.

CHURCH AND STATE.—SECTARIANISM IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The matter of sectarianism in various state governments and of Christianizing influences in public affairs, notably in our public schools, has been before our Conference on various occasions. Our standing committee on Church and State has done excellent service. Further reference here and now would therefore appear to be unnecessary and uncalled for. So it would were it not for the fact that during the past year an acute attack of sectarimania (if I may coin a word) swept through the land. You all remember the vicious utterances of numerous Christian clergymen last winter when the request was made by Jews in various cities to eliminate hymns of a purely Christian character from the public school exercises. The dominant note in most of these unAmerican, un-Christian and unmanly utterances was that this is a Christian people and a Christian country; an arrogant attitude of superiority was assumed, and we Jews were plainly told that we should be glad that we are tolerated here, that we are aliens, that this is not our country, *et hoc genus omne*. In answer to these impertinences a number of excellent papers, in refutation of the claim that this is a Christian country, were prepared by Jewish thinkers and published in Jewish prints.

Good as these were they were only individual utterances. It has become necessary that a representative Jewish organization be heard on this subject. Our pamphlet, *The Bible in the Public School*, has been of great help in combating sectarianism in the public schools in a number of localities. I recommend that similar brief publications be issued as tracts during the coming year, one on the subject *Is this a Christian Country?* and another on the subject *The Jew in America*, which shall set forth the length of residence of the Jew in this land, his services to the country in the crises of the nation's life, his good citizenship and the like, and thus silence forever the envenomed lies that the Jew is an alien here and that this is not his country.

RELIGIOUS INFLUENCES IN JEWISH INSTITUTIONS AND PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS WITH JEWISH INMATES.

At the recent National Conference of Jewish Charities held at Richmond, Va., one of the speakers pleaded for Jewish religious influences in Jewish institutions. This suggests an extension of the work that our Conference has already done along this line. In past years there has always been a ready response to every request from public institutions for our prayer books for use by Jewish inmates. During the past year such requests have come from the chaplain of the United States Navy, the religious superintendent of the Hawthorn Jewish Protectory, the Jewish chaplain of the New York State reformatory at Elmira, the Jewish chaplain of the penitentiary at Newark, N. J., and a Jewish woman's society in Baltimore; it goes without saying that in every instance the books desired were sent cheerfully. It is, however, not enough for us to wait to be addressed. We should be in communication with the Jewish chaplains of every eleemosynary corrective and penal institution in the land, and where there are no Jewish chaplains with someone else who has the spiritual welfare of the inmates in charge; we should have information of the number of Jewish defectives, delinquents and criminals

in all these institutions and take steps to provide Jewish spiritual nourishment for them. My predecessor, in his able message last year, suggested that steps be taken for the religious instruction of the blind, deaf mutes, defectives, etc. A committee was appointed in consequence of this suggestion. Now let us go a step further in the matter and seek to obtain the statistics of Jews in public institutions of all sorts; having the statistics we will be able to move towards supplying these inmates with our prayer books and other literature, and thus bring Jewish influences into their lives.

SERVICES AT SUMMER RESORTS

There are a number of summer resorts which our coreligionists frequent in large numbers, but where no provision whatever is made for the holding of divine services. This is a most severe reflection upon our entire community, and justifies the charge so frequently made of the lack of the religious spirit among us. True, in recent years synagogues have been built in a few of these resorts where services are held weekly. But to one such there are a score where, throughout the vacation season, the word of prayer or religious exhortation is never heard. Unless a rabbi happens to be among the guests in a summer colony no move is made towards remedying this lamentable state of affairs. Recently our Conference issued a special edition of the Sabbath service of the Union Prayer Book for use at summer resorts at a nominal price, with the hope that this would be effective in removing this reproach. This hope has been realized to the very slightest degree. Our Conference has a further duty here, for it is the one organization that can successfully grapple with this problem. There must be, among our members, quite a number who would be willing to institute and conduct a weekly service on the Sabbath in these resorts, if the Conference would bear the financial burden. The necessary outlay would involve nothing more than the rental of a room in which to conduct the services and the payment of the traveling and hotel

expenses for the season of the rabbi in charge of the work, for without doubt the service would be rendered gladly *l'shem schamayim*. Jewish summer residents of resorts like Charlevoix, Lake Harbor, Ottawa Beach, Elkhart Lake and scores of others that might be named, west and east and north, ought certainly to be provided with the opportunity to attend a divine service. Let a beginning be made with one. If this proves successful the work can be extended until the Conference summer preachers will be found in all resorts where Jews do congregate in large numbers. I have no doubt that if this movement be started by us the men and women in these summer colonies who attend the services will be but too glad to contribute their share towards meeting the expense incurred. But that is further along. It is imperative that we, the religious guides, do something towards meeting a situation that is so little to our credit. I therefore suggest the appointment of a committee to elaborate a plan for the consummation of this purpose and the appropriation of a sum sufficient to inaugurate the experiment, either this summer or next.

A LITERARY ANNUAL.

To the great regret of us all, announcement has been made that with the current year the only English magazine devoted to Jewish literature and scientific subjects, *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, will suspend publication. The advisability of our publishing a quarterly has been before us in various forms, but it has not been considered necessary for us to embark in such an undertaking owing to the existence of the aforesaid magazine which met all requirements. Now, however, the situation has changed and we should consider the feasibility of publishing a magazine of a popular scientific character something like the *Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur*. I do not believe that we can entertain the idea of publishing a Quarterly Review, but a Conference Literary Annual is within the bounds of possibility. There are sufficient scholars among us to furnish the literary material for such an

annual, and the expense of publication should not be so great but that it can be met by our own funds or from a subscription given by some Jewish Macaenus. The literary and scientific papers read before the conference instead of appearing as appendices in the Year Book, which would in this case become the record of the business transactions of the Conference, could then be made an integral portion of this literary annual. This, however, should contain additional material of a similar character. The two publications, the *Year Book* and the *Annual*, would then represent the two sides of our activity, the purely practical on the one hand and the scholarly and literary on the other.

THE SUPERANNUATED MINISTERS' FUND

One of our round table discussions this year will be devoted to that perennial subject, the superannuated ministers' fund. Since our round table subjects are merely intended for discussion, I include this matter here in order that some action may be possible. I have always believed, and still believe, that it is the duty of our congregations, and not of the rabbis, to provide for such unfortunates in our ministry who, after a long and honorable service in the cause of Judaism, are unable, because of advanced years, to continue their active labors. It redounds to the credit of our larger congregations who are financially able, that they almost invariably grant a sufficient pension to the rabbi who has grown old in the service of the congregation, but the men who are thus placed are comparatively few and do not come within our present purview. Our concern is with the men who have no congregation of this kind to care for them. I have already alluded to the fact that one congregation, the Bene Jeschurun of Cincinnati, voted a sum of fifty dollars during the past year towards our Superannuated Ministers' Fund. I believe other congregations, if addressed on the subject, will take similar action. I should like to see such a contribution a standing item in the budgets of our congregations. Just as each con-

gregation belonging to the Union of American Hebrew Congregations contributes one dollar per member per annum for the maintenance of the Hebrew Union College, so should there be a fixed contribution per capita to the fund under consideration. It need not be as large as one dollar. A contribution of ten cents per member from all the congregations represented by our conference would mean more than one thousand dollars per annum for the Conference Superannuated Ministers' Fund. So insignificant a tax would certainly not be refused by any congregation. This would bring our congregations into more direct relation with our Conference than they now are, would accentuate their responsibility to Judaism at large, and best of all, would assist towards allaying the consuming dread of a destitute old age on the part of that most pitiable of all men, the eminently respectable but poverty stricken minister, who deserves not the pity and the grudging charity of our communities, but their grateful thanks. This should find expression in a ready response to any call intended to insure him a comfortable old age in peace of heart and spirit.

STANDING COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

At every convention resolutions are offered and carried that involve the outlay of money. The Executive Committee which is charged with carrying out the instructions of the Conference finds occasionally that the outlays ordered by the Conference amount to larger sums than is provident. In their zeal for the extension of the work of the Conference our members are sometimes forgetful of the fact that our funds are not inexhaustible. It would therefore be wise to add to our present list of Standing Committees one on Appropriations consisting of the Treasurer, Corresponding Secretary and President *ex-officio*, to whom shall be referred for comparison and adjustment all resolutions and motions involving expenditure of funds. This Committee shall report if possible to the convention before adjournment, or if this be not feasible, it shall make its report to the Executive Committee with whom, in that

case, the final adjustment of such matters would rest. Experience has demonstrated the necessity of the appointment of some such committee which shall act as a check upon expenditures which, although directed to laudable purposes, are in danger of becoming somewhat reckless.

A MOVEMENT PRO FALASHAS

Our Conference is reaching out in many directions. As time passes we shall without doubt find opportunity for co-operation with other of our Jewish national organizations as is already the case with the Publication Society. But Judaism has interests which extend beyond the bounds of any one land, and are international in character. In such, too, our Conference, as an organization, is vitally interested in as far as they concern the spiritual welfare of the Jews. In January last I received a communication from Dr. S. H. Margulies, of Florence, Italy, bespeaking the cooperation of the Conference in the movement for the rejudaization of the Falashas of Abyssinia. It is desired to form an International Committee whose prime purpose it shall be to found a school at Erythrea for the education in Judaism of young Falashas, who shall then return to their people and educate them in their turn and counteract the efforts of Christian missionaries who have been extremely active among them. This is a task which should appeal to us, the religious guides of Judaism, for many reasons. I wrote Dr. Margulies that although the matter had my personal sympathy, nothing could be done until this meeting, when I would bring this communication to your notice. Unfortunately there seems to be some working at cross purposes in these premises. The *Alliance Israelite Universelle* has sent a mission to Abyssinia of his own accord. The *Jewish Colonization Association* and the *Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden* have joined hands with Dr. Margulies. Under the circumstances it might be well to express our sympathy with the movement and our readiness to cooperate, but to refer the whole subject for fur-

ther investigation to the incoming Executive Committee, and to give the Committee definite instructions and powers.

CHILD LABOR LEGISLATION

Thus far I have touched matters of specific Jewish interest, but though primarily concerned with putting our own household in order, we join hands with our fellowmen of all shades of belief and opinion in every movement for the advancement of that humanity whereof they and we are members. If there be one subject among the many of a high moral nature that are now agitating our American people and which possibly more than any other requires some sympathetic and encouraging word from every religious organization, it is that of child labor. Among the traditions which we hold dearest is that of the concern of the Jews in all lands and ages for the welfare of the child. From the day that the law-giver said, "thou shalt teach them diligently to thy children," to the present hour the child has filled a large place in the economy of Jewish life. No need then to argue the appropriateness for us as the representatives of a large section of Jewish Americans to express by resolution or otherwise our sympathy with the strenuous efforts that are being now made by philanthropists, educators and legislators all over our land to secure for every child the rights of childhood and such opportunities of education and play as shall fit it for the tasks of manhood and womanhood. Many of our co-religionists are large employers of children in the various lines of trade and manufacture; our privilege and our duty it is to represent the child's side to such as are not already conscious of their responsibility in the matter. A word of good cheer from this representative Jewish organization will greatly enhearten those engaged in championing the cause of the child, and will be in a line with Judaism's age-long solicitude for the child's happiness and welfare.

DEATHS DURING THE YEAR

Never in the history of our Conference have we been called upon to record in one year the demise of so many eminent men; since last we met two of our honorary members and one of our foremost active members have been called to the *yeshibah shel maalah*. Because of the prominence of these three men I thought it well to depart from our usual custom of simply mentioning the names of deceased members in the president's message, and I have therefore requested three of our colleagues to prepare brief obituary addresses to which we will listen in the course of the evening. Hence it remains necessary for me simply to record the great loss our Conference has sustained in the deaths of Bernhard Felsenthal, last survivor of that first generation of great rabbis in America, a leader to whom all we younger men looked with reverence for his great learning, his clear thinking and his indomitable spirit; of Alois Kaiser, dean of the Jewish cantors of the country, who contributed so much towards the beautifying of our service through his own musical compositions, and his adaptation to the Jewish ritual of the productions of the great masters in the world of music; of Jacob Voorsanger, that sturdy, masterful leader, whose remarkable powers of thought and expression placed him in the very forefront of our colleagues. With sincere regret I record also the death of Rabbi Judah Wechsler, a member of our Conference from the beginning, and a true and tried worker in the cause of Judaism until the increasing infirmities of age incapacitated him for further service. Them and other great Jewish leaders in every walk of life who passed to the great beyond during the twelvemonth just closed we mourn; we will cherish their memory in our hearts—*sikram librakah*, blessed are their names forever and aye!

In conclusion, I wish to thank my colleagues of the Executive Committee for their assistance whenever called upon, and for their courtesy to me and the office I am filling; also to you brethren and members of the Conference, for the interest you show in our common labors do I offer the

meed of my appreciation. Notably, however, to our efficient corresponding secretary am I indebted for his unfailing aid in the fulfillment of the hundred and one duties that the administration of our Conference demands. His promptitude, his efficiency and his readiness at all times to attend to the ever-increasing business of the office he fills merit not only my but your hearty appreciation, which I have no doubt he has.

Brethren, we have assembled from all sections of the land. Many matters of importance will claim our attention. Our Conference has now reached that stage where it is recognized the world over as a potent factor in the Jewish religious life of America, and, through this, in wider circles also. May this gathering add its quota to the large work already accomplished. May the spirit of peace and fellowship pervade our every meeting. May the deliberations here conducted, the sentiments here entertained, the words here spoken be marked by single-hearted devotion to the cause of Judaism; in that case will our work be prospered and make for the welfare of Israel and humanity! *Ken yehi ratzon*—so may God will it!

Respectfully submitted,

DAVID PHILIPSON.

B

BERNHARD FELSENTHAL.

A Memorial Address Delivered before the Central Conference of American Rabbis by DR. JOSEPH STOLZ, of Chicago.

On January 12, 1908, Bernard Felsenthal entered the Academy on High.

At its very inception, the Central Conference elected as honorary members those who linked our generation with the beginnings of Reform Judaism in Germany, in order thus to mark and preserve the continuity of our movement. Since we met in convention a year ago, the last of these pioneers has been gathered to his fathers; and it seems most fitting that as a token of love to him and as a mark of gratitude towards a generation that is no more, we piously devote a few moments this opening hour of our convention to the memory of the revered Nestor who was called home at the ripe age of eighty-six, his eye still undimmed, his memory trustworthy, his heart beating with sympathy for his people, his mind devoted to a study of the Thora with all the freshness and eagerness of youth.

It was my privilege and good fortune to have been close to Dr. Felsenthal for twenty years; and, though he was always exceedingly reticent about himself, in the last two years, during which he bore intense physical suffering with heroic silence, he seemed less unwilling to reveal his inner self unto those who loved to visit him in his simple, genial home. And it affords me genuine pleasure to testify here, before his colleagues, that he was indeed "a priest in whose mouth was the law of truth and on whose lips no unrighteousness was found," a man much to be admired for his idealism, his consecration to truth and duty, the piety of his sentiments, the courage of his convictions, his love of God and man, his tolerance towards those who differed with him, his charity for those who ridiculed, maligned or neglected him, his devotion to his people, and especially his hunger and thirst for the Thora.

I never found him alone, even on his sick bed, but that he had a book in his hand—usually a Hebrew book, although he was well

read in universal literature—and it may not be unworthy of mention that he, who usually judged the ability of his colleagues so leniently, gauged himself by such a severe standard of excellence that though he possessed a vast store of accurate knowledge, was blessed with a retentive memory, and could handle the sources with facility and excellent judgment, though he wielded a facile pen, had the scholar's instinct, and for twenty years enjoyed ample leisure and unusual vigor of mind and body, he yet deliberately chose to take his learning with him into the grave rather than burden the library with another book unworthy of the best. Some thirteen years ago (September 13, 1894) he had occasion to write to me in a letter: Sie werden vielleicht mich fuer einen pedantischen Kleinigkeitskraemer halten. Mag sein! Uebrigens ist so viel gewiss, dass es in den juedischen Gemeinden unseres Landes wenige solche Pedanten giebt wie ich einer bin. Aber man muss doch auch seinem eigenen Gewissen gegenueber zurecht werden. Ein alter Spruch, der Beherzigung verdient, sagt: תלמיד חכם אל יוציא מתחת ידו דבר שאינו מתוקן and undoubtedly it was this high standard of excellency, as well as the financial sacrifice connected with the publishing of Jewish books in our country, that made him exercise the self-restraint Ecclesiastes approved of when he complained that of the making of books there was no end. And yet, I have often felt that if he, who did his best literary work stimulated by a friend or by the necessities of the hour, had accepted the professorship in the Hebrew Union College offered him in 1879, had had a good Hebrew library close at hand, the lack of which he often deplored, and had come under the stimulating influence of Dr. Wise and the realization of the needs of a pathfinding academic institution, he would have produced an opus magnum in addition to the elementary Hebrew grammar and the half-dozen pamphlets and some two hundred and fifty miscellaneous essays, book reviews, lectures and controversial articles he published at various times in current German, English and Hebrew magazines and journals, nearly all of them distinguished not only by an incisiveness of style, a clearness of expression, a definiteness of opinion and an accuracy of scholarship, but also by a fullness of learning that usually left the impression that in the sphere of

"Jewish science" he was indeed a rich capitalist, hardly able to consume the interest on his investment.

Felsenthal realized the large possibilities of our Conference and each year he looked forward to our meetings with eager expectancy and followed their deliberations with zest and relish. He felt it a keen deprivation that, on account of old age, he had to forego attendance upon our annual reunions. This was especially the case last year when he sent us by proxy his last public utterances, four peppery resolutions truly characteristic of the rare personality who, though he loved the retired life of the scholar, yet followed with the deepest interest every new development of Jewish history. And that this absence was decidedly our loss no one will contradict who attended the Louisville Conference and recalls the intensity with which the erect octogenarian in a heated debate opposed the formation of a Synod, his pet aversion, and the manliness with which he defended the enthusiasms of '48 which, with prophetic defiance, he declared would never become antiquated.

Indeed, it was the spirit of '48 which impelled the fiery young man, who had planned to enter the civil service of his native land, but had been deterred by anti-Jewish prejudice, to seek a new home, in 1854, in our free and democratic country; and it was the same spirit that five years afterwards forced the village school-master who had been an inquisitive and acquisitive student of the *Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, a science which sprang up in his day, to enter the arena boldly and unequivocally as the champion of freedom, progress and democracy in religion and to become through his *Kol Kore Bamidbar* one of the pioneer advocates in our country of individualistic, radical, reform Judaism.

This decade of the nineteenth century was a critical period for religion as well as for science and government, especially a critical period for our ancient Judaism, and, as is well known, every crisis introduces elements of peril as well as new possibilities of advance. In the breaking up of authority, in the weakened grasp of dying sanctions, many men become irreligious, losing entirely the sense of the meaning and place of religion. But the same crisis opens up to other men vistas of hope and promise such as never have been

so wide or so fair. Felsenthal was decidedly one of the latter, and, though only a bookkeeper in a small bank, he rallied around himself a few congenial spirits and through the publication of his *Kol Kore Bamidbar* became an enthusiastic spokesman for religion and one of the pioneer advocates for the establishment in our country of separate outspoken, individualistic, radical, reform congregations.

In these days, when as far as interest in Jewish learning is concerned, there is really getting to be a decided distinction between priest and layman, it is timely to observe that Felsenthal's interest in Judaism was not that of the professional man. He was neither a prophet, nor the son of prophet. Like Jost, Krochmal and Luzzatto, Zunz, Steinschneider and Dernbourg, he seems not to have had any serious desire or intention of becoming a rabbi; yet, in the short diary of his first years in America, in the copy of a letter addressed to Dr. Wise, August 1, 1858—both recently found among his papers—a letter, in which he pleads so earnestly for the union of the two diverging forces in American Israel, in the *Kol Kore Bamidbar*, he reveals such a sincere interest in the development of Judaism in free America that it seems most fitting for him to receive the *Hataras Haroah* from Doctors David Einhorn and Samuel Adler and most logical for him to be selected in 1861, as the first rabbi of Sinai Congregation where, at the age of thirty-nine, he became an enthusiastic advocate of individualism, the mission of Judaism, the blessing of dispersion, as well as the development of Judaism and the necessity of reconciling the old creed and the new science, the old practice and the new life.

In a Gutachten sent to the I. O. B. B., as late as March, 1880, he even went so far as to say: "Who will now hold fast to the old notion that Judaism is a mere raceship? Who does not now desire to have Judaism elevated to something higher and holier; to the plane of a *religion*? Any one whose one parent—be it father or mother—is or was an Israelite, and whose other parent—be it father or mother—is or was a Gentile, is to be considered an Israelite, *provided he himself explicitly and honestly desires to be considered as one*. And any one, who disconnects himself from Judaism by formally joining an anti-Jewish church or organization is to be considered a non-Israelite, though his father or his mother, or both his parents, are or

were Jews." And then recommending the admission of Proselytes without *Milath Gerim*, he adds: "I have not the least doubt that within a comparatively short time, congregations and rabbis will be found who in their own spheres will practically carry out such innovating—innovating?—nay, rejuvenating ideas, and who (without considering themselves bound by the scholasticism and casuistries of bygone ages, and more in harmony with the prophetic spirit and with prophetic utterances) will facilitate it for "strangers to join Israel and to attach themselves to the house of Jacob." They will not wait until some Synod or some Church Council will have agreed upon what ceremonies ought to be observed on such occasions. Individuals or single societies, or single congregations or organizations comprising many component societies, proceed onward and act as they think proper and as they consider justified before their own conscience, unconcerned what others think or say of it. In some cases these innovations live and grow, in others they wither and die" (Report of Executive Committee of Constitution Grand Lodge I. O. B. B., 1880-1881, pp. 112-119).

That Dr. Felsenthal modified his views in later years is well known to all of us, and it certainly would be interesting to offer some explanation as to how the pioneer champion of a radical Reform Judaism also became the pioneer champion of Zionism. But the program committee, having limited me to twelve minutes, I must confine myself to facts, and it must suffice if I declare here, as the result of many conversations upon the subject, that it never seemed to him as if there were any incompatibility between Zionism and Reform. Ardent Zionist that he was from the very inception of the movement and eager as he always was to stand up, in the very face of ridicule and derision, to be counted with those who favored the re-establishment of a Jewish State, neither in his theory of Judaism nor in his religious life did he cease to be a Reformer, or to think of himself as one.

To be sure, he often sneered at his old idea of a "Jewish mission," and he battered to pieces the notion that Judaism was only a religion, and he failed to see the blessing of dispersion. It grieved him sorely that Israel was bleeding from so many wounds; and it touched his soul to the quick to witness the many instances, within his own

experience, of disloyalty to Jewish association, of the disintegration of Jewish discipline, of the pathetic fading-away of Jewish individuality and of the tragic indifference on all sides to Jewish learning; and, agreeing with Zunz that "ein Selbstmord ist keine Reform," he most sincerely believed that Zionism was the only salvation both for the Jew and for Judaism, the only movement that would preserve the positive content of Judaism against the inroads of assimilation.

It does not often happen that a man lives long enough to become both the pioneer and the critic of a movement. But it is in criticism and self-search that we see wholesome proofs of religious earnestness; and, whether he was right or wrong in his judgment, I honor the man who was honest and courageous enough to point out what seemed to him the mistakes of a movement in which he himself participated as a leading actor and who, in his old age, was still so intensely interested in the cause he espoused in his youth that at a period of life when most men shrink from new movements he was ready to abandon cherished opinions and associates and espouse new hopes and alliances.

Yet in honoring him I do not stand alone. Dr. Felsenthal died enjoying the respect and reverence of every school of religious thought and practice. "When a man's ways please the Lord, He maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him." At his funeral, held in a Reform Temple, were the delegates of Orthodox and Zionist organizations that filled eighteen carriages. An Alumnus both of the Hebrew Union College and the New York Theological Seminary, he was fittingly remembered in both institutions. Memorial services were held in the East and in the West, in Reform Temples and in Orthodox synagogues. Zionist and anti-Zionist, Russian as well as American and German Jew, the rabbi of the old school and the rabbi of the new school eulogize him—a remarkable tribute to sincerity and courage, even though they divide us into parties; a splendid testimony that the bond which unites us all and holds us together and inspires mutual respect and reverence, is devotion to the Thora, that which in every period of our history has allowed of varying religious types and enthusiasms within Jewry itself, without arousing intolerance or creating sectarianism.

And, colleagues, now that so many Jews are seeking our shores

from Eastern Europe and the chasm that yawns between them and our children is ever growing deeper and ghastlier, is it not well for us, leaders in American Israel, to learn from the life of a Felsenthal, that it is not through charity, but through a reverence for the Thora and the study thereof, that we can best promote mutual respect between Jew and Jew and best preserve the unity and solidarity of Israel?

As was befitting the simplicity and modesty of Baruch Felsenthal, no eulogy was pronounced at his funeral. He needed none. Silence was the most eloquent tribute to the man who spoke a brave word and struck a bold blow for God and right, for truth and liberty, for faith and humanity. An honor to his profession, a lover of all Israel, and admirer of Jewish learning, an advocate of Judaism, his name will be enshrined in the annals of Israel's immortal teachers. With the wise and with those who lead many to righteousness, he will shine like the stars in heaven, for ever and ever. Secher Zaddik Livrocho. Blessed was he in his coming, may he also bless us in his going.

RABBI JACOB VOORSANGER.

A Memorial Address Delivered Before the Central Conference of American Rabbis by RABBI JONAH B. WISE, of Portland, Ore.

"And Jonathan said to David: 'Tomorrow will be the feast of the new moon, and thou wilt be missed, for thy seat will be empty.'" (I. Samuel xx., 5.)

Brethren: We are assembled here for the purpose of furthering with the ripening counsels of a year's experience the fortunes of a cause which all of us hold to be more sacred than the consummation of our own happiness. From all the corners of this great land we are gathered to debate the questions which will in time provide the solution of Israel's problems, and which will, as surely as we serve honestly, bringing back to the priestly people their heritage of faith, send them forth once more to teach redemption to all the world. Each one of these assemblies, these yearly gatherings, is a feast akin in potent joy to the festivals our fathers graced with their blessing of the virgin moon. Each one marks with a lapse of time a progress towards the rounding out of that period wherein we still must wait with courage for the realization of our ambition, which will surely come as we gather strength and resourcefulness from the incentive of this high festival, this assembling around the sacrificial meal, which consecrates each one anew to the work of those who fight "the battles of the kings of Israel and of Judah." This is no place for weaklings. We want no men whose genius leads them to compromise and assuage with sneaking parallels the differences we cannot dissipate; we need courage, not the art that makes all things equal by the sophist's turn of subtle logic, for we must, and we, with God's help, shall establish a program of faith that will in time repay the sufferings of the Inquisition and the Pale.

Year by year this festival, consecrated to the high purpose of redemption which is our people's mission, lending a notable incentive to greater efforts in the cause, becomes more marked as a high feast of faith. In such gathering and on such occasion it is fit and proper that we turn our thoughts with sad remembrance to the memory of one whose power gave us strength, and whose courage

lent that element of boldness without which these gatherings would be futile and to no purpose. Well may we mourn the loss that has befallen us; well may we regret that from the field of action which held, and still holds honorable place for great hearts and minds, there is removed a champion of our cause, whose gifted mind and generous spirit made him a leader in our sacred service. Here indeed a place is empty. A great warrior has gone to his father's house; the guests summoned to this feast, and those who will respond to like call for many years, will note with deep regret the absence of Jacob Voorsanger.

Born in Amsterdam, Holland, November 13, 1852, he was privileged to enjoy the cultural environment of an ancient seat of Jewish learning, where he received a foundation in the atmosphere hallowed by the memories of great sages. Early in life he evinced great powers of mind, soon becoming a progressive student of the classics of our fathers, with the best that the efforts of all ages and men had to yield. Coming to America at an early age, he was most favorably received, for his excellence in the traditional lore of our people, his felicity in idea and expression were early appreciated. His work in the American rabbinate commenced in Philadelphia, shifting from there to Washington, Providence and Houston, Tex. In Houston he really commenced to evince those qualities which later became so noticeably a part of the history of our movement. He attained to fluency in speaking and writing the English language, developed remarkable journalistic talent, and a pulpit power that coupled with the superior quality of his early training and his keenness of intellect made him a force in the synagog that could not be denied. From Houston he was summoned to San Francisco, where he became the associate of the late Elkan Cohen, of Temple Emanu-El, which congregation he served with his illuminating presence until the day of his death.

The peculiar isolation of the Pacific coast of our country is but little appreciated by those who have never visited those golden shores. West of the Rocky Mountains there lies an empire which pulsates with a life that is characteristically its own, marked in its tendencies and developing an attitude of mind that is indigenous to the climatic and topographical peculiarities of the vast territory.

It is not only the fact that the distance from the great centers of the east to the western shore is as great as that which separates us from Europe, but the peculiar character of the citizenship, which is as great a barrier as the mountain themselves. The communities of this section are made up of a virile class of men who risked their all to throw in their lot with their elected fatherland. They are intensely proud of it as they saw it grow from a vast wilderness to its present high promise. They appreciate strength whether it be in the body or the mind, and are peculiarly susceptible to the charms of courageous expression in any field. In a community of this kind Voorsanger fitted most aptly. He was a man of leonine presence, and a certain candid gruffness of expression when heated that was the speech of courage and conviction. The people of San Francisco gravitated to him and learned to rely implicitly on the honor of the motives that stirred his utterances so that in time he became a part of the spirit of progress that stirred that land and contributed to its growth. Our people love physical strength, and in this man they found the outward expression of it with the enduring traits of power that made them learn to respect and then to love him. He was no nurser of hobbies, no promoter of frivolous and insipid innovations in the sacred procedure of the synagogue, but a strong advocate of those theses which have lent beauty to our faith throughout the ages. He was intensely Jewish, disliked puling compromise, and struck out for the justification of his labors by a promulgation of such definite program of belief which none could misunderstand. He was soon called upon to present the viewpoint of the Jew to that whole section, becoming the representative, not only of his own congregation, but of the entire coast as well.

Most of us are prone to judge by results, and in the case of Rabbi Voorsanger there was ample room, for in his relations with the community he gave them just cause for pride in that he was so notably a contributor to its mental and intellectual progress. He was given the rare honor of a post as Professor of Semitic Literature and Languages at the California State University at Berkeley, and also held the distinction of being appointed special lecturer and chaplain at the Leland Stanford, Jr., University, the Harvard of the Far West. These positions were not empty honors, but sources of the

greatest and most gratifying effort upon the part of the man who occupied them. In both of these great institutions of learning he became well known, a part of the scholastic life that was notably prominent and well thought of. The rare vigor of his mind, allied with the candid expression of his virile ideas, soon brought him to the front as an academic lecturer, and he has attained a reputation as such that is by no means inferior to the best in the land.

Very few of us will question the statement that the permanence of Judaism in America will be greatly influenced if not decided by the success of the Hebrew Union College. The education of Americans in the traditional lore and the sacred ideals of our fathers is the *sine qua non* of a successful spreading of the propaganda of our religion in this country. The maintenance and the proper encouragement of the College is as much a part of the duty of the American rabbi as his most intimate ministration of the privileges of his congregational activities. In this field of work Voorsanger shone brilliantly. He was at all times a loyal, almost a fanatic supporter of the institution, lending his aid by tongue and pen toward its welfare. He worked for it with no selfish motive, being spurred thereto simply by the conviction that the College was essential to the life of the cause. By his death we who are interested in the same noble endeavor feel that we have lost a champion whose power was an assurance of the interest and help of a great community in the work we hope to consummate. In part recognition of his strong allegiance, and as an appreciation of his scholarly accomplishments he was given the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and no one deserved the honor more, nor was it ever more eagerly bestowed. By the death of Jacob Voorsanger this bulwark of Judaism loses a brave defender, one whose place will long remain empty, and one to whom, now that he has passed to his great reward, the tenderest sentiments of thanks and appreciation, of noble and unselfish effort may well be accorded. As a journalist Voorsanger showed exceptional talents, and succeeded in building up a weekly paper that had a personality and force seldom exhibited in publications of its kind. The "Emanu-El" has a rightful claim to a high position in the annals of American religious publications. His style was clear, lucid and strong. He handled difficult subjects with strength

and ease that left no room for doubt as to the intention of the writer, while his treatment was above all things eminently fair. Unlike many editors of kindred mental strength and physical hardihood who bullied their way to a conclusion, this man had an aptitude for a certain powerful delicacy which gave his opponents no cause for rancor and left no doubt as to his good intentions. He was a logical and a happy writer, delving down into a vast accumulation of experience, facts and learning for the arrangement in convincing form of every item he set forth. His style was never laborious or pedantic, a thing rare in the journalistic effort of men who preach. The weekly message of "Emanu-El" was one of importance to the Jews of the Pacific Coast, inasmuch as it came fraught with deep meaning and laden with the rich gifts of thought that a strong mind gives with such lavish profusion. From the day of its foundation to the present time this organ has easily been in the front rank of the journalistic champions of Reform Judaism. The splendid gifts of the departed were not limited to his own publication, but were at the service of others in the cause. His written word has often illuminated the columns of other journals, amongst which the articles which he has contributed to the *American Israelite* are notable.

In the civic life of the great community where he had cast his lot he stood forth monumentally as a leader in every action for communal betterment. All men are liable to mistakes in judgment, and while he may have erred at times in his estimates of men and measures, such errors were slight in comparison with the weight his influence assumed as he grew to be more and more a commanding figure in the life of the community. When the great disaster visited that noble city his aid and courage were solicited, given, and rendered such signal service in the alleviation of the horror and distress as to win him a place in the annals of San Francisco unique in its history, and certainly unparalleled in that of any rabbi in America. His great heart yearning for some means of restoring the shattered fortunes of a once resplendent community urged him on to labors which were in excess of his physical powers, so that bent with the further weight of the loss of a tenderly beloved child he bowed to the will of God.

His life was one of action; labor with its consequent triumphs

was his daily portion; while he bore much his powers were such that they ripened under the stress, and he left his field of work in the full flower of magnificent accomplishment. He is deeply mourned in that community which he loved, where he has been laid to rest with honors such as few receive. The church, the state, the great universities, and all the beneficiaries of his noble life stood around the open grave, where I, as the humble representative of the love my father bore him, and the affection he felt for this great assemblage, contemplated with deep feelings of sorrow and consciousness of loss the return of the dust that had been imbued with the breath of life, and that had once contained the noble spirit of Jacob Voorsanger.

We who are assembled here prepared for great endeavor in the assistance of a cherished cause, may well pause before we assume the task, and note the absence of a beloved fellow worker. In this high feast of the struggle for light, in this assemblage of those who work for Shaddai's praise, there will be an empty seat. In this festival a place is vacant for a Palladin of faith, a champion of thrice-tested zeal no longer lends his strength and courage. Jacob Voorsanger, a man, has returned to his father's house.

REV. A. KAISER.

A Memorial Address Delivered before the Central Conference of American Rabbis by DR. ADOLPH GUTTMACHER, of Baltimore.

What Isaac M. Wise, the immortal founder of this Conference, has wrought for the American Rabbinate, Alois Kaiser, the sweet singer in Israel, has wrought for the American Cantorate. During the formative period of American Judaism both men occupied unique positions. Both were bent upon elevating their sacred calling. Both labored manfully for a modern synagogue. Both, in a sense, were not mere producers, but also creators, reshaping the old to meet the changing conditions in American Jewry. Thus, in view of the distinguished services, Alois Kaiser rendered to the synagogue, our Conference at Rochester, 1895, honored itself by making him an honorary member of the Conference. It is, therefore, peculiarly fitting that we should pay tribute to the memory of Alois Kaiser, a true servant in the vineyard of the Lord.

Alois Kaiser was born in 1840 in Szobotist, Hungary. When five years old, his parents had obtained the long coveted privilege of living in Vienna. Here, young Kaiser received his first instruction in the congregational school of Dr. Henry Zirndorf, the sainted teacher of many of us. Later, Kaiser attended the Realschule and the Teachers' Seminary. Showing at an early age talent for music, he was placed into the conservatory. At the age of ten he joined the choir of the celebrated Viennese Cantor, Solomon Sulzer. Sulzer seemed to have been especially drawn to his earnest and gifted pupil, for at the age of fourteen young Kaiser occupied the position of the leading soprano in that famous organization. At the age of nineteen he became the assistant cantor at Funfhaus, a suburb of Vienna. Three years later he received a call to Prague as Cantor of a large congregation. Here he devoted himself to the cultivation of his voice and studied zealously musical theory. Imbued with the spirit of political freedom, that had made his father an active participant in the stirring drama of 1848, Kaiser turned longingly his eyes towards the New World. In 1866 he landed in New York, and four weeks after he was called as Cantor to the Oheb Shalom

Congregation of Baltimore. In that position he remained for forty-two years to the time of his death, which occurred January 5, 1908.

Kaiser's life has memorialized itself in the zealous and painstaking service he gave his congregation, and in the honored and respected name he left behind. He was a faithful worker, a man of unblemished character and of natural dignity. His personality was full of gentleness and mellow sweetness, in grain fine above the common, of high tone and aspirations. He took an active interest in many of those movements that make for the betterment of others, and showed himself a most useful citizen. In brief, his life shed lustre upon the Jewish name. Amid every manifestation of sincere sorrow, his lifeless form was conveyed to his resting place on earth from the synagogue, in which for over four decades he had intoned prayers and pæons to the glory of Israel's God.

Alois Kaiser's career was transfused by the consciousness that living is giving, giving the best of which one is capable. This explains the honored place which Kaiser occupied in that larger congregation, the congregation of Israel. To be a שליח ציבור, the leader of the congregation in public worship filled him with sacred awe, and with a deep sense of responsibility. His prayer and song were always vocal with deep religious fervor. The note of perfunctoriness, that only too often robs a service of its devoutness, could never be discerned when Kaiser officiated, nor could anyone ever have accused him of being unctuous. Listening to him, one felt the telepathic influence of a sincere soul.

The tendency of the modern synagogue to dispense with the services of the Cantor was a source of great grief to him. That the synagogue would suffer by it was his earnest conviction. The blame for the attitude of the synagogue towards the Cantor, he placed upon the Cantor himself. For he believed that there was still room in the synagogue for the Cantor who could read and understand the signs of the times. Repeatedly did he express himself to me that the modern Cantor should be familiar with the traditions of his calling, adapt himself to the changing of religious and social requirements and fit himself to co-operate, intelligently and sympathetically, with the work of the pulpit. This was the keynote of all his addresses

before the Society of American Cantors, and the burden of the advice that he gave to his colleagues.

Kaiser loved his calling most enthusiastically, for he knew the tradition of it and never ceased learning more about it. In a Necrologue, one of our colleagues speaks of him as follows: "He followed the traditions of the Sulzer School, and for more than four decades of honorable service to his congregation, he gave the best that was in him to the cause of rendering the music of the synagogue worthy of its name and expressive of the thoughts and feelings basic to Jewish worship." Kaiser deeply venerated the memory of Sulzer. No opportunity passed without his paying loving tribute to the memory of the father of modern synagogal music. At the celebration of the one hundredth birthday anniversary of Sulzer, held in New York March, 1904, under the auspices of the Society of American Cantors, and later at a similar service, held by our Conference in Louisville, he lovingly reviewed the work of his great master and showed Sulzer's abiding influence upon the Jewish liturgy. Kaiser admired most in Sulzer the Jewishness of his compositions, he characterized Sulzer's work as "beseelt vom Juedischen Geiste." To impress this Jewishness upon the service of the synagogue was almost a passion with Kaiser. Thus he says in his presidential address before the Society of American Cantors in 1904, "In spite of the numerous publications of Jewish music within the past twenty-five years, the synagogue in America has borrowed too much from the church, the opera, and the concert stage, so much so, that in some Jewish houses of worship Jewish melodies have about entirely disappeared. It is for this society to restore them again." And in the report of the committee on Synagogal Music, made to this Conference at the last convention, he says, "Of music, especially composed for the service that by Jews should receive the preference over that by non-Jews."

Kaiser was the one cantor to whom the smaller congregations all over the land would turn when they wanted music for the divine service, they felt confident that Kaiser would know what they required. Thus many of his compositions have found a permanent place in the American synagogue.

But brief mention I shall make of his publications. His *Magnum Opus* is the *Zimrath-Yah* in four volumes, which he published in collaboration with three other cantors. The first volume made its appearance in 1871, the last in 1885. In 1894 this Conference asked the co-operation of the Cantors' Association to provide music for the Union prayer book. In 1897 Kaiser and Sparger published the Union Hymnal. For several years Kaiser had sole charge of the printing and distribution of the Hymnal. Though this work required a great deal of his time, he did it cheerfully and without any compensation. One of the important contributions to Jewish music in America, he considered the volume published by him and Sparger as a souvenir to the Jewish Women's Congress, held as a part of the World's Parliament of Religions at Chicago. It contains the principal melodies of the synagogue, from the earliest time, with an introductory essay on the liturgical chant of the synagogue. Besides these Kaiser set to music several psalms and many hymns. He also contributed several articles to the Jewish Encyclopedia, and published several pamphlets upon the sphere of the Cantor. His life was well spent, "it made the sunshine brighter and the clouds less dense." What a higher tribute can a man receive than that. Our teachers of old say: צדיקים במיתתם נקראים חיים "The righteous dead are called living." They live in the happier sphere to which God has removed them. But they live, too, in the hearts of those whom they have blessed by their goodness and ennobled by their good example.

C.

SAMSON RAPHAEL HIRSCH.¹

In Honor of the Centenary of His Birth, by RABBI MAX HELLER,
of New Orleans.

Serious difficulties confront the American student of our day who endeavors to limn with a firm hand some great Jewish figure of the past century, to represent its proportions with unpartisan justice, to assign its place in the gallery of our Gaonim, its function in the progressive phases of our religious unfoldment.

Initial Obstacles. "The tumult and the shouting" of the Reform battle are far from having died; the risks of optical delusion in judging proportions from too short a distance we share with other students of modern phases; to all this is added our oft-lamented poverty in genuine biographical material, a dearth upon the causes of which I need not enter, the vast difference of our Jewish environment from those of Europe, last, rather first, our comparative deficiency in the heavy armament of technical Jewish scholarship. To sit in judgment, e. g., over a man who has sailed up and down the immensities of the Talmudical ocean, who has charted its winds, sounded its depths, is a precarious enterprise for one who is a mere tyro in that arduous discipline; to pronounce a decision between battling giants is to insert one's head between the clashing mountains.

Under the consciousness of all these disabilities I venture with more than diffidence upon the task of appraising a man whose greatness as a factor in the struggles of his day is beyond dispute, a man to whom I have been unable to find any trustworthy approach through personal tradition, whom I am attempting to judge only from the disjecta membra of his writings and of the printed replies, reports and comments of his contemporaries, yet whose strength seems to have lain in personal influence and organizing perseverance, far more than in literary or scholarly achievement.

Samson Raphael Hirsch was born (June 20, 1808) into a time when the shallow Schoengeisterei of the Measssim had followed hard upon the fine sunburst of the Mendelssohn-Lessing era; his childhood fell into the splendid period of Germany's awaking

Early Environment.

¹ After the paper had been read, a number of notes were embodied from the Jubilaecums-Nummer of the "Israelit" which came to hand subsequently.

to liberty, dashed down so rudely by the strait-jacket policies of the Holy Alliance; Goethe was enthroned in the Olympian majesty of acknowledged classic at Weimar where all literature came to pay court to the giant from older days; meanwhile the romantic school, with its Catholic leanings, had celebrated its orgies in Schlegel and Tieck, and built up a philosophy in Schelling; the glorification of Teutonic medievalism received added strength in the Swabian school of Uhland, Kerner and Schwab, while the tocsin of democratic revolt was sounded by the "young German" movement of Heine and Boerne.

For the Jew the formative years of Samson Raphael Hirsch were years of much uncertainty and many heart-burnings. At opposite ends Zunz and Riesser worked for the emancipation, the one of Jewish science, the other of Jewish civic life; in other quarters open and shameless apostasy was the answer to the hep-heps of intolerance. Only slowly, having begun with externalities of aesthetics and decorum, retreating cautiously from hot-headed manifestatoes, leaning on historical research and concerned for unbroken solidarity was Reform born in the fifth decade.

But I am anticipating. Hamburg, the city of Hirsch's birth, was the earliest battlefield of a quasi-Reform; here, in 1818, was dedicated the Temple; the following year saw
Hamburg Influences. the issue of its prayer book. The battle was joined between old and new; Moses Sofer and Mordechai Benet on the one side, Kley and Solomon on the other. The surroundings of the boy Hirsch leaned to the orthodox side of the controversy;² though his father was a merchant with some Hebrew learning and had planned for his son a commercial career,³ his grandfather, Mendel Frankfurter, had been, in his day,

² "Als elf- und zwölf-jaehriger Knabe war er Zeuge der Zusammenkuenfte im elterlichen Hause, in welchem die Treugebliebenen die Tages-Ereignisse besprachen und die Schritte berieten, mit denen dem kecken Uebermute der Neuerer zu begegnen sei." (Samson Raphael Hirsch, ein Lebensbild, Jubilaeuums-Nummer des Mainzer Israelit, p. 6.)

³ For which, in fact, he was educated and which he followed for a brief time (S. A. Hirsch in Jew. Quart. Rev., Vol. II. "Jewish Philosophy of Religion and S. R. H. p. 124.)

a well-known Talmudist and otherwise a man of education, unsalaried associate rabbi of Altona, founder of a large Talmud School; his granduncle Yehudah Loeb Frankfurter, was the author of הרבנים לבקעה.⁴

In 1821 Isaac Bernays was called to Hamburg as chief rabbi of the German community, to be known by the self-chosen title of Chacham. He was one of the first men in Germany who united Jewish learning with a thorough university education; he stood virtually alone among Jewish preachers of modern culture in his day as an advocate of uncompromising orthodoxy. He had studied Talmud under Abraham Bing, come under the influence of the Schelling philosophy in his student days at Wuerzburg; he was the reputed author of the "Bibelsche Orient,"⁵ two anonymous pamphlets of religious philosophy, the authorship of which afterwards expressly repudiated by him, which are full of erratic hypotheses and vague exegetical speculations. Bernays died comparatively young, after a largely ineffective activity of twenty-nine years, leaving virtually no literary remains whatever; his promising school dwindled to a shadow, his sermons for which Heine had a perverse word of praise⁶ became less and less popular with the masses; yet he had learning as well as a certain profundity and his personality was of an imposing order.

That Bernays did exercise a lasting, one might almost say, a dominating influence upon the development, even upon the tastes and views of Hirsch whom he induced to take up the rabbinate, but who was only for a few years under his teaching, is undeniable. The parallelism between their methods and opinions is remarkably close, considering the brief time of their intimate connection. To Bernays Zunz's historical research was Zemach-David learning;⁷ the "Bibelsche Orient" abounds with mystic interpretations of symbolism, with phantastic philological derivations; as Hirsch did

⁴ Orient, 1847, p. 35, Ed. Duckesz, Chachme A. H. W. pp. 39 and 114.

⁵ See Karpeles, Geschichte der juedischen Literatur, p. 1125, Bernfeld, תולדות הרפורמציון הדתית p. 116.

⁶ Quoted by Graetz, Geschichte der Israeliten, XI, p. 432.

⁷ Fuerst's Literaturblatt des Orients 1847, p. 697.

subsequently, so Bernays found fault with Maimonides as a harmonizer and rationalizer; in his preaching and teaching Bernays who probably deserved neither the extravagant praise of Graetz⁸ nor the sweeping condemnation of others,⁹ displayed homiletical profundity and sincere piety, rather than lucidity or popular eloquence.

After a year, 1828-9, of talmudical study under Jacob Ettlinger in Mannheim, a man of unsophisticated piety and university training, Hirsch proceeded to the university of

The Bonn Days. Bonn,¹⁰ where he was brought in contact with a number of choice spirits. Geiger's *Tagebuch* affords a vivid glimpse, from his point of view, of that gifted company, of whom S. Scheyer, Ullman, Frensdorff and Hess are a few, among whom Geiger acknowledges that his subsequent protagonist both exercised great sway over him and contributed largely to his enjoyment of the Bonn days. Geiger ascribed to Bernays' ascendancy what he called Hirsch's immoderate reverence for the Bible and the pseudo-philology he employed in exegesis.

It was after an evening chat between the two young men that the Jewish theological students at the Bonn university founded a society for the practice of public speaking which met on Saturdays at Geiger's room for homiletic exercise and candid criticism. Hirsch was the first to preach; in discussing the sermon Geiger learned to admire "his extraordinary eloquence, his ingenuity, his clear and rapid comprehension";¹¹ their standpoints were, even then, wide enough apart to threaten misunderstanding; but reading Talmud together for two semesters, and in friendly criticism, their fellowship grew to mutual esteem and love. Praising Hirsch's excellent mental equipment, his austere virtue and yet generous heart, Geiger looks back upon their intercourse as having been both profitable and enjoyable. Subsequent history assigned to these men the leadership of opposite hosts¹² in a partisan warfare which was, at

⁸ Vol. XI p. 428. The elder son of Bernays was Graetz's colleague at Breslau.

⁹ *Orient* 1849, p. 98.

¹⁰ Geiger's *Nachg. Schriften* V. 17.

¹¹ *Nachg. Schriften* V. 19.

¹² There is a striking dissimilarity, not unfree from personal coloring, be-

times, bitter; yet, though Geiger spoke with withering contempt of neo-romanticism,¹³ going even so far as to characterize reaction as the twin sister of materialism, though he treats Hirsch's commentaries, later on, with the disdain of utter indifference,¹⁴ both of the men seem to have avoided conflict as far as possible; when, during Geiger's Frankfort incumbency, they lived in the same community, they kept entirely aloof from one another.

To return, however, to the student-days of these leaders, the marked difference in their personalities naturally manifested itself in the studies which attracted them; Semitics, historical and literary studies engaged the insatiable intellect of the younger and more vivacious Geiger; philosophy seemed to exercise the greatest fascination over the pupil of the Hamburg Chacham; Geiger's characterization sounds like a prophecy: "Hirsch attempts to justify religion by way of speculative reasoning and goes in the pulpit into philosophical disquisitions." When Hirsch had left for Oldenburg, where, starting at the age of twenty-two,¹⁵ he toiled as chief rabbi of the principality eleven years, Geiger addresses a letter to him in which the implications are instructive. He pleads with his friend not to regard the struggle for emancipation as something secular, and, therefore, beyond the rabbi's concern; he recommends to him a recent publication which throws light upon "the mystic notions of these latter times," apparently with a hope of converting his friend to views "about which we most diverge."¹⁶

tween the tone, on the one hand, of Geiger's review of the Ben Usiel (*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift fuer juedische Theologie*, II. pp. 352 ff.) („wir erkannten in Allem sogleich einen hochgeachteten, lieben Freund der seit der ersten Zeit, da unser Blick sein Inneres traf, unsere ganze Verehrung und Freundschaft gewonnen und dieselbe stets erhalten wird,") and between the recension of the Horeb (IV. p 381) where, it is claimed one has no choice but „ob man ihn verachten oder bedauern soll," rather strong utterances both and not readily reconciled. Hirsch retaliated in kind, (*Orient*, 1840), when he reviewed „Herrn Dr. Abraham Geiger's philosophische und historische Kritik."

¹³ *Jued. Zeitschrift* I. 245, ff.

¹⁴ *Ibid* X, 159.

¹⁵ At a salary, it may be interesting to quote, of some 600 Thaler. (*Jubilaums-Nummer*, p. 17.)

¹⁶ *Nachg. Schriften*, V. 50.

Those must have been busy days at Oldenburg,¹⁷ replete, on the one hand, with such practical work as belongs to the office of Land-rabbiner, with constructive school-work, above
At Oldenburg. all with the gestation and the building out of a system and with eager study of the sources from which to corroborate one's preconceived ideas.¹⁸

The Ben Usiel letters appeared in 1836, the first edition of the "Horeb" in 1838.¹⁹ Style and contents of both betray the impatient enthusiasm, the overwelling fulness of a mind surcharged not only with ideal longings, but also with strongly individual views.

Much of the strength of those "letters from the North" must have lain in the favorable constellation at the time of their appearance. They constituted the first aggressive plea
Ben Usiel. for strict orthodoxy as a vital faith; conviction and sincerity vibrated through every line of them; their fervid impulsiveness appealed to a time which went wild over Lamennais' dithyrambics, revelled in the forcefulness of Boerne's journalism and rose to the bold appeals of Riesser. As yet Hirsch's various mannerisms had not come into more than their first burgeoning; on the title-page he still speaks of "*Israel and his duties*," though the turgidity of "*Th'nach's Toene*" makes its appearance on p. 5; Thauróh (p. 11) Jaakaúw (p. 31) Maushéh²⁰ (p. 37) start on their long procession; even Yissroél-Menschthum, Thauróh-geist and Lebens-ermaechlichung make their first bow. But let us not dwell too insistently on externalities. The style of

¹⁷ An impressive picture of Hirsch's devoted energy is given in the Jubilaums-Nummer, p. 10: „Er uebersetzte die Mischna und verschickte die Uebersetzung bogenweise an die Lehrer seiner Bezirksgemeinden, zu einer Zeit, in der es noch keine Hektographen und sonstigen Vervielfaeltigungsapparate gab, er besorgte selber die Abschrift seiner Uebersetzung in der erforderlichen Anzahl Exemplare, damit Lehrern und Schuelern auf diesem Wege die muendlich ueberlieferte Thora zugaenglich wuerde!"

¹⁸ Ben. Usiel 1836, p. 51.

¹⁹ The Horeb, however, had been written before the Ben Usiel and the latter was intended, by the publisher's advice, simply to pave the way for the larger publication. (Jubilaums-Nummer, p. 10.)

²⁰ Hirsch's pupils have not perpetuated all of these mannerisms; the Jubilaums-Nummer speaks (p. 47) of the „Mosesstab."

the letters has been called classical by those who grasp haphazard at any superlative term by which to describe merits; it is fervid with an enthusiasm that frequently rises to genuine eloquence; there is a warm eagerness to persuade which bespeaks profound sincerity; yet the argument often unwittingly misrepresents and perverts the position of opponents whose strawman-role²¹ appears too obviously; there is a whirl of words with rapid shifting of subjects, page-long periods tax the reader's endurance;²² the ecstasy of verbiage reminds one of all the extravagances of the "Sturm und Drang" period, inverted syntax, omitted articles and auxiliaries, occasionally a passion of detestation which falls little short of the hysterical.²³

Almost the whole full-grown Hirsch is given in these letters wherefore I must be pardoned for a disproportionate dwelling on their style, mood and contents. They reveal a loftily idealistic, unaffectedly pious personality with a special detestation for disloyalty and sensuousness. The young Hirsch is diffident, not only as to "Haerten im Stil" (preface), but as to his fitness for authorship (p. 10) and as to the value of his "weak attempts" (p. 105); his letters appear as a "Voränfrage," a sort of ballon d'essai, preceding the publication of a work on Israel's duties.²⁴ That work, the Horeb, which appeared two years later, is largely sketched in rough outline, though with some difference in the order of subdivisions.

This is perhaps the fit place to set forth his standpoint and program so far as they had then matured. Man's highest vocation is not, according to Hirsch, the comprehension
Ardent Aspirations. of truth; the commandments must be understood as testimonies, monuments, symbols (p. 95); "one way there is to salvation . . . take the sources of Judaism; מדרש, ש"ס, ת'נ"ך; read, study, understand them for life;

²¹ Gotthold Solomon (Geiger's Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift fuer juedische Theologie, vol. II. p. 417) finds "Benjamin" implausibly ignorant.

²² p. 30.

²³ If you only grasp it, the Schabbóss . . . and if over against it you think *through* the whole insane horror of the thought: for the sake of gain desecrating Schabbóss!" see also p. 21 for a specimen reminding of the feverish style of "Werther's Leiden."

²⁴ Yet he proudly claims to have "scaled a summit alone," p. 107.

draw therefrom Judaism's view of God, world, mankind, Yissroëil, through history and precept; Judaism to be comprehended, to be known out of itself, to be lifted, through itself, into a science of life-wisdom. With תנ"ך the start; with philology first; תנ"ך, then, not to be read for antiquarian research or whimsical theory and amusement; studied, studied for the upbuilding of a science!"

There is unbounded self-confidence, as well as a measureless valuation of Jewish literature in these ambitious plans; they disclose, too, one splendid aspiration that formed an integral element of that strong personality, in their unfeigned yearning for deep and thorough education in Judaism. There is something tonic in the dreams of the young counter-revolutionist whose work was occasioned by the desire "to put into the hands of the teachers in the schools entrusted to my care a book in which they could *read themselves* into becoming Jews before they would rear young souls for Judaism; and even while I was preparing my work for larger circles, still it is thinking youths and maidens of my own people who are ever present to me as my readers."

Reform was not, at first, to him the red rag which it became afterwards. He quotes himself in letter one (p. 2) as designating it (an awkward phrase), as "the view of life which had arisen by the compromise of the inner voice with the outer requirements of the love of convenience"; similarly (p. 100) he calls it "a groundless and aimless effort, the negotiation with the overestimated exactions of the fleeting moment"; he speaks of Reformers (p. 85) with a mildness of regret, a pitying deprecation of error which is in quite a different temper from the fulminations of his later years; in these days of his unfoldment, it might be parenthetically remarked, he was ready to sacrifice the *שם נדר* prayer to the cause of peace,²⁵ to accept witnesses without regard to ritual observance,²⁶ and seems to have permitted a vested choir.²⁷

²⁵ Ben Chananya 1861, col. 22, quoting from Archives Israelites.

²⁶ Ibid. 1862 col. 396.

²⁷ Some of these "reforms" belong to his Emden period.

He felt that Judaism was grasped by no one of his age in its purity and that it was good, after all, in a time of so many new truths, that no central authority arose (p. 102); he did not realize in what irreconcilable conflict such sturdy individualism as was his must ever stand with any authority-belief whatsoever.

For the rest we meet here, the first time, with some of his basic views and methods. Like his teacher, Bernays, he condemns Maimonides and even Moses Mendelssohn

Views and Methods. as men who "had their *πνεῦμα* outside of Judaism and tried to draw the latter over to themselves"; the Maimonidean *טעמי מצוות* continued to be a *bête noir* of his to the end; on the other hand he praises "the author of the *Kusri* and the son of Nochmann." Of the Cabbala he speaks with diffidence as one uninitiated, venturing to characterize it as "an invaluable repository of the very spirit of Th'nach and Schass, which, then, was unfortunately misunderstood, so that progressive development was taken to be stationary mechanism, the inward phenomenon as an outer dream-world" (p. 92).

Hirsch's standpoint regarding the national character of Judaism was entirely that of radical Reform, except that a nationalism, to be brought about providentially, asking of
Anti-Nationalist. men nothing but the mere hope, lay for him at the end of Israel's career. ". . . the independent political life of former days was not essence nor purpose of Yissroél's national individuality, only an expedient for the fulfilment of his spiritual vocation. Never was land or soil his bond of union, but the joint task of the Thauróh; hence a unity still, though far from the land, hence still unity, even when received into citizenship everywhere in the diaspora; (let that unity be called *עם* and *גוי*, not "people," if the attribute of common soil is not to be severed from the vernacular term); until sometime God will unite them as a people outwardly, too, upon a soil and the teaching of the Thauróh will again stand forth as the fundamental principle of a commonwealth, as pattern and for the revelation of God and of man's destiny. A future which is fixed as the aim of the Goluth, but which must not on any account be actively promoted by us, only hoped for" (p. 79).

At this early stage Hirsch has already traveled far along the development of that airy system of philology so largely unfolded out of inner consciousness,²⁸ that correspondingly venturesome method of Bible exegesis, **Fanciful Philology.** that ingenious spiritualization of ceremonial and other symbols which figure so largely in his Horeb, his commentaries and other writings. Koheleth (p. 32) is "the all-gathering voice"; Cain the man who calls the soil his own, the Nefilim those in whom humanity sinks, Enosch the bending of one's knee to created things, and so forth; שבת וינפש is rendered "invisible, as is thy soul in thy body, He retreated and veiled Himself—soul-like—into His creation and works on invisible, preserving and unfolding" (p. 13). ישרו בערבה מזלה לאלקינו (Is. xl: 3), he translates; (p. 43) ebnet in abendlicher Mischung eine Bahn fuer unsern Gott, a translation which is more safely left unrendered. As, to Faust, "everything perishable is but a simile," so all things religious are symbols to him; the Sabbath is not instituted for rest from toil, but as a testimony to God's creation and power, a sanctification for the days of the coming week. Sacrifices are separately symbolized by classes (p. 63).

If the contents of Ben Usiel are to be summed up, we shall fail to find in it a new philosophy, even of Jewish history, but it will be hard to escape the charm and the infection of its fresh, young eloquence. Ingenious theories abound, there is everywhere a wealth of homiletical material; yet many of the deepest things that are hinted dissolve like wraiths upon closer approach.

How kindling, at the time,²⁹ was the effect of the publication

²⁸ The Orientalist Fleischer, in a letter to Geiger (Juedische Zeitschrift fuer Wissenschaft und Leben, 158) characterizes the system, a little rudely, as Etymologieen-Schwindel. On the other hand, the biographer of the Jubilaums-Nummer (p. 15) speaks of „geradezu phaenomenalen Entdeckungen auf dem Gebiete der Sprachforschung." See also Dr. J. Wolgemuth's language (ibid p. 44), speaking of "epochal discoveries or inventions."

²⁹ A translation into Hebrew by M. S. Aronsohn (Wilna), published a short time after S. R. H.'s death, exhausted several editions within a few months. (B. Drachmann's translation p. XXXII); a Dutch translation (Dr. Isidore Hen) appeared in 1895. (Jubilaums-Nummer p. 47.)

we may judge from the overwhelming impression which it made, by his own testimony, upon the young Graetz, **A Brilliant Convert.** who was just then at a drifting stage, on the verge of scepticism and general disgust.³⁰

Graetz, acting upon Hirsch's faith in the all-comprisingness of Jewish literature, began with the first folio ברכות and the first book of Moses, as "books containing divine helps for mankind." After a number of futile attempts on the part of the restless young man to quench his thirst for intellectual progress, a friendly book-dealer sends Graetz again a copy of the fame-heralded book; again it electrifies the aspiring youth who, at last, plucks up courage to write to the man who seemed to him the only trustworthy guide. The treatment which he received discloses something of the secrets of that strong attraction which Hirsch exercised, through life, upon those who came in personal contact with him. In his letter of reply he deprecates the profuse glorifications of his hero-worshipper, calling himself "only a student occupied with research." (A misquotation, due to a carelessness which was not rare with him, serves to bear out this not altogether groundless modesty.) But he promises less than he means to do; he takes the student into his own home, providing for almost his every need and devoting to his instruction a large portion of his time. His interest in his brilliant pupil was so fatherly that he not only introduced the untrained student to disciplined thought, but watched, without coercion of any kind, over his moral and religious conduct. Graetz, in turn, performed the duties of an assistant, even to the extent of deciding ritual questions in the master's absence. The intercourse between the fatherly teacher and the gifted pupil which lasted over two years seems to have been ideally congenial on both sides; whether Hirsch exercised a "truly marvelous power to stir his disciple's soul-life to the depths" as Graetz's biographer puts it (p. 19), whether it is true that Hirsch's observations "put his new pupil into a fever of enthusiasm," and though Graetz may have been disappointed in his desire "to learn the methods of Talmud study, particularly of the Halacha, pursued by a man whom he admired profoundly," the fervor of Graetz's gratitude cannot be doubted. He

³⁰ Memoir of Heinrich Graetz, Index Volume of History, p. 12.

had left Hirsch's home, owing to some domestic frictions; yet with unlesened cordiality of feeling (1840). Five years thereafter he inscribes his doctor-thesis, "Gnosticism and Judaism" (1846) to "Samson Raphael Hirsch, the brilliant champion of historical Judaism, my unforgettable teacher and fatherly friend, in love and gratitude." The friendship, unfortunately, did not continue unbroken to the end; in his intense dislike for historical and literary criticism as applied to the Jewish past Hirsch attacked Graetz's History³¹ with fierce vehemence, accusing the historian of "unexampled levity and immoderate lack of thoroughness." Whether the outburst of anger was intended, as Graetz's biographer surmises,³² against the Breslau seminary, rather than against the heretical pupil, would be hard to say; the labor of the refutation would seem to argue against any theory of personal feeling. There is little proof to be found in Graetz's notorious Vol. XI. of the profound sway which Hirsch's first work and the close communion of those years must have exerted over the historian's years of development. The Ben Usiel letters are coolly dismissed as simply "the first notes of a sturdy protest against the shallowing of Judaism" (p. 504).

But we have taken a forward leap to 1857. There was much friendly interchange of service previously to that open breach, between the two men. Graetz proved of material assistance to his genial master in the preparation of what was, on the whole, his most ambitious work that "Essay on Yissroël's Duties," for the publication of which the "letters from the North" had appeared as a timid solicitation (Voranfrage). Graetz revised the last part of the book with Hirsch and assisted in reading the proofs, the volume appearing in 1838.

The Horeb is far more difficult to sum up adequately or even to characterize succinctly than are the "letters from the North." It is, whatever may be thought of its hermeneutics
The Horeb. and its general modes of reasoning, a work that has not its equal in the modern literature of Judaism for boldness of conception, for diligence and persistence of execution, for resourceful and devoted ingenuity in interpretation,

³¹ Jeshurun 5617, pp. 254 ff.

³² Index vol. p. 69.

a work which can have been dictated only by a strong and lofty purpose. An earnest piety, an unwavering faith in the supremacy of Judaism pervade its every page; traditional law is treated with a tender, admiring reverence which almost amounts to absolute conviction of infallibility; by the side of far-fetched and absurd symbolizations and justifications there appear meditations and pithy sermons which are underlain by an affectionate study of history and human nature, upborne by the noblest principles of idealism and spiritual passion. We may as well premise the discussion of this remarkable book by explaining that it was intended and announced as the second, practical part following upon a systematic theology of orthodoxy which never attained to birth. Whether the indefatigable writer found such a task beyond his strength, whether his speculative wing became lamed, after the first bold flights, in the struggle of manhood years, or whether, perhaps, his many congregational burdens precluded the calm and prolonged leisure needed for the construction of such a conceptual edifice,³³ we cannot decide from any utterance of his own.

The Horeb was written "in the first line, for Yissroél's thinking youths and maidens." It is not only characteristic of Hirsch's

intense eagerness to teach Judaism, that he

For the Young. should have addressed himself, by preference, to the young and impressionable: it not only

bespeaks his fervid assurance of the vitality of orthodoxy that he should have turned to that uneasy age of growth when a precocious scepticism, a heedless frivolity are so apt to take possession of half-raw, self-righteous youth; but the whole style of the Horeb, differing distinctly from that of the letters, breathes the one earnest and powerful purpose to speak to the imagination and the emotions of the easily kindled, to arouse, inflame, impress in accents that are keyed to highest intensity of feeling.

The Horeb is partly handbook of orthodox law, partly religious reader for family use, now a disquisition on underlying philosophic concept, again a fiery, continuous sermon on funda-

A Book for the Family. mental Jewish morality as it enters into everyday life. Long quotations from the Bible, more or less phantastically expanded and distorted in trans-

³³ Prof. G. Deutsch's article in Jewish Comment, May 29, 1908.

lation, serve as introductions to many chapters; the other quotations are taken from Talmud and Midrash; the rest of our vast literary treasure-house is almost untouched. Powerful and impetuous as is the style of his sermonizing appeals, their tone is almost always one of unaffected fatherliness; much of it yet retains the somewhat stilted ecstasy of Ben Usiel (p. 14, e. g.); solemn puns are not repudiated (צרות p. 50); the hysterical, again, is not avoided (e. g. pp. 25 and 29).

The book is not easy reading; yet it is claimed by those who know, that it has become a favorite source of edification in many German families; there are those who predict that it is destined to give rise to a momentous renaissance whenever it may be introduced, in the Hebrew garb, to the great Jewish East.

It would be easy, of course, to give a Blumenlese of exceedingly solemn absurdities from the Horeb, illustrating again, for the nonce,

how little the sense of humor can dwell with
Eccentricities. tense seriousness. The explanation of מילה is as far-fetched as it is lofty (p. 169): "On the preservation of the sanctity of this covenant-seal is founded the eternity of your people; is founded the fact that never in Yissroël can the beast so triumph that an entire generation must yield its place among the people as a degenerate, however nations else might enervate themselves; that in each newly blossoming generation a new garden of God may flower again to whom anew God's spirit turns, estranged though it had become from the unworthy generation that has passed." A sublime reading; we should say, of the Jewish diaspora; but he continues in a different strain (p. 170): "desecration of this covenant-seal brings with it the animalizing of the human soul, brings mutilation of the human body, brings decay of the generations, desecration of families, permits ailments to be transmitted by inheritance from feeble fathers to still more decrepit grandchild-weaklings; only in the holy-sturdy body lives holy-sturdily and vigorously the soul."

A butt of witticism and derision,³⁴ e. g., has been (p. 326) his particularly weak defense—or rather praise—for Hirsch claims

³⁴ Ben Chananya 1863 col. 127, Prof. Deutsch in Jewish Comment.

The Covered Head. neither to justify nor even reason on God's commands,³⁵ of the covered head. The intent is deeply spiritual, the logic totters alarmingly: "only those parts which principally serve as tools for human work, as face and hands, shall be visible; but everything which mainly subserves animal functions, shall be covered; that to the corporeal eye, too, only the human in you may appear, the beast remain under cover, that your very presence may remind: you are here for a divinely human vocation, not for a bodily-beastly. And as you withdraw the beastly part of your body from the eye, you may not, in any way, bear your body as if imposing esteem, so as to stride along with loftily rigid neck, adding, so to say, to your animal size, and, as if that were your greatness, forcing that upon the eye. Your walk, your attitude, be frank, but modest! For the guarding of that modesty our sages especially recommended that one should never leave the head uncovered while walking under the open sky, that we may steadily remain aware of the confines of the animal in man and know that just where human scope stops, there begins the eternal reign of God's wielding."³⁶

An inconsistency has been found by more than one critic, on the one hand between these elaborate sophistications and the unquestioning, childlike obedience of the old-fashioned orthodoxy, on the other hand between Hirsch's denunciation of Maimonides and the toilsome semi-apologies which he himself builds up. While only a professed panegyrist like S. A. Hirsch can declare that his great namesake, during a lifetime of 81 years, never once contradicted himself, while Bernfeld is in all probability within the truth in claiming, in the opposite direction, that a scholar of the old-fashioned orthodoxy would be sure to discover any amount of *אפיקורסות* in Hirsch's writings, the founder of neo-orthodoxy puts up, in his preface, a doughty and logically strong defense, in anticipation, against this very charge of inconsistent apologetics.

Finally, in a work inscribed to the young we must pay some

³⁵ Preface, p. XII.

³⁶ He also saw in the uncovered head an attempt to hide our Oriental derivation.

grateful tribute of admiration to the elevated spirituality, to the powerful appeal for purity and chastity which **Appeal for Purity.** lifts the book almost above anything in its own line of Jewish educational endeavor.³⁷ The chapter on "Bewaring against Unchastity" is one of the most impressive appeals in that direction that ever emanated from a Jewish pen.

On the whole, Martin Philippon's characterization of Samson Raphael Hirsch,³⁸ is not unjust. "Hirsch addressed himself to faith first, then to reason; he breaks with old orthodoxy, at least with some of its most positive habits, in sanctioning secular education, sermon in the vernacular and a self-conscious, sophisticated practice of the divine precepts; he places belief first as his *sine qua non*; but then he opens the door to unbridled speculation"; yet has the "Horeb" not only remained a handbook for the people, but it cannot be matched, as a powerful, detailed presentation of religious practice, in the corresponding literature of Reform Judaism.

From Oldenburg the now widely known champion of the oral tradition was called to Emden (1841) where he officiated as Chief Rabbi of Aurich and Osnabrueck with his residence at Emden for nearly six years. He was here, as he had been at Oldenburg, a busy organizer of schools and charitable institutions, deeply concerned with the regulation of the service, a dignified and tactful mediator between his people and the government. At his departure for Moravia the universal regret of his people was voiced in a manner which bespoke a lasting impression; the one token of recognition he asked was that his work be continued in a spirit of generous self-sacrifice.³⁹ He had supplemented his *Ben Usiel* and joined in the prevailing controversies by publishing, in 1838, his *Erste Mittheilungen aus Naftali's Briefwechsel* (against Holdheim) and in 1844 his *Zweite Mittheilungen aus einem Briefwechsel ueber die neueste juedische Literatur*.

³⁷ On the other hand he urgently warns in the same chapter against married women wearing their hair uncovered, p. 304.

³⁸ *Neueste Geschichte des juedischen Volkes*, vol. I. p. 184.

³⁹ *Orient* 1847, p. 301.

He was now called to a sphere which was universally regarded as the highest then open to an orthodox rabbi in occidental civilization.⁴⁰ The position of rabbi of **Moravia.** Nikolsburg derived its unique distinction from the men who had occupied it: Mordechai Benet, Nahum Trebitsch and others; the office of chief-rabbi of Moravia and Silesia to which he was elevated had been held by men like Jehudah Loeb Bezalel, Yom Tob Lipman Heller, Menachem Mendel Krochmal and others. It should be said in passing, that Samson Raphael Hirsch was the last in this splendid chain, as the office virtually ceased with his leaving it.⁴¹ There were, then, said to be 30,000 Jews in Moravia;⁴² Hirsch had been carefully chosen out of a number of eminent names.

The advent of the great writer and organizer was greeted with enthusiasm; he issued a number of edicts relating to the religious life, to benevolent and educational activities, **Dissonances.** to the civic situation,⁴³ which breathe a simple dignity and unostentatious piety.⁴⁴ There was, however, to the Western German, a strangeness of environment which could be mitigated neither by his accentuation, in his own life, of severe standards of orthodoxy,⁴⁵ nor by his unbending insistence on the adoption of these standards, even by visitors.⁴⁶ It had been hoped that in Hirsch would be found the man who would combine modern refinement and secular learning with a perfect mastery of rabbinical literature, with undisputed authority, especially in the wide realm of the Halachic and Hagadic writings; but Hirsch's comparative lack of rabbinical learning made him the inferior of many men who were to look to him for guidance; the mantle of the great legists of an older generation was oppressively heavy for his occi-

⁴⁰ B. Drachmann's Ben Usiel.

⁴¹ See Jewish Encyclopedia, art. Moravia.

⁴² Orient 1847, p. 32.

⁴³ He did yeoman's work in the struggle for civic emancipation. (Jubilaeums-Nummer, pp. 29 ff.)

⁴⁴ Orient, 1847 p. 287, 1848 pp. 76 ff, 274, 362.

⁴⁵ He laid special stress on the ritual bath and on minor fasts, let his beard grow etc. Orient 1847, p. 301.

⁴⁶ See Graetz Memoir, p. 43.

dental shoulders. Hirsch never attained to wide or exact scholarship in any branch of Jewish literature. He was too much the creature of powerful impulse, unfettered speculation and busy action to pay continuous attention to scholarly detail; in Moravia he was, by lofty comparison, called an *עם הארץ*,⁴⁷ just as embittered Breslau, later on, jeered at him as a *סדר-למרן*; in each epithet there was considerable admixture of personal feeling; in the case of men like Fassel and Schmiedl, whose persecution did not cease with his departure, a spice of envious malice.⁴⁸

The distinction of the office and the uncongeniality of the environment must be taken into account, together with Hirsch's courageous self-confidence and unbounded propagandist zeal, to estimate properly the apparently astonishing self-abnegation with which he now leaves the religious headship over a populous, ancient, well-organized community,⁴⁹ to accept charge of a newly formed congregation of some seventy families owning no synagogue or other institution in the center of Western Germany.⁵⁰

Albert Cohn, in an autobiographical article,⁵¹ depicts the religious indifference that prevailed at Frankfort prior to the coming of Hirsch. What the latter had to contend with **Rampant Reform.** in his efforts for religious education, he describes in a pamphlet⁵² from which some almost incredible particulars are quoted by S. A. Hirsch.⁵³ It is claimed that, through the machinations of the "Jewish Congregational

⁴⁷ On the other hand there were those among the rabbinical authorities of Moravia, who spoke of him with sincere respect (Jubilaums-Nummer, p. 11).

⁴⁸ Ben Chananya 1861, p. 70. To the whole warfare and similar journalistic gossip applies the complaint (ibid p. 105) against „die leider herrschend gewordene Sucht sich in den Tagesblaettern gegenseitig herabzuwuerdigen."

⁴⁹ Which had, however, it must be remembered, foiled his every attempt at organizing its congregational and educational life, until his title of Oberlandesrabbiner seemed a mere shadow. (Jubilaums-Nummer, pp. 24, 25.)

⁵⁰ Jubilaums-Nummer, p. 12. The statement in E. Schreiber: Reformed Judaism, p. 62, note, is doubly incorrect; it was the charter membership which counted eleven names and among these no Rothschild is found.

⁵¹ Ben Chananya 1864, col. 969.

⁵² Die Religion im Bunde mit dem Fortschritt, von einem Schwarzen 1854.

⁵³ Jewish Quarterly Review, vol. II, p. 137.

Council" it was, between the years 1818 and 1838, an indictable offense, checked and punished by the police, to teach the young the Bible in Hebrew and the Talmud. Scholars who had hidden in lofts to pursue these studies were, by the Jewish Council, dragged from their places of concealment and banished; at a penalty of 50 florins people were warned against harboring such offenders; the council officially boasts of having suppressed a well endowed Talmud school. A "Tsitsith Society" for private Sabbath-study of the weekly Bible-sections was forced to disband, its work being declared a misdemeanor. The provision of prisoners and hospital patients with kosher food was stopped.

The tale may be tendentiously colored, but the writer's veracity stands unassailed. Its items should be borne in mind as probably accounting to some extent for Hirsch's stubborn rejection, in 1876, of the apparently liberal offers of the council in the effort to conciliate the movement for secession.

Hirsch remained in Frankfort to the day of his death. He transformed the original Minyan of eleven families in 1848 (it soon numbered Anselm von Rothschild and other men of large means among its supporters) into an imposing community which counted five hundred families at his death and is said to embrace nine hundred at the present time. Unlike his teacher Bernays who clung to the ancient disorder of the synagog as to a tradition, he took pride in regulating the discipline and decorum of the service; his most marked success as an inspirer and organizer consisted in the building up⁵⁴ of a graded system of Jewish, in connection with secular, education, which is probably, in the Jewish field, unequaled in Western civilization; his Buergerschule and Realschule, it is said, are ranked by the government as models of their kind. It is characteristic of counter-revolutions that they seek to strengthen their religious hold by the aid of systematic education. Hirsch's life-long interest in the religious growth of the young was attested by the religious enthusiasm which he aroused among them and stimulated

⁵⁴ He began by going from house to house for subscriptions and pupils (Jubilaeums-Nummer, p. 12.).

by live social organisms. His powerful ascendancy, now and then, gave rise to complaints of tyranny;⁵⁵ his bitterest enemy had to admit that Hirsch never bent the knee, or even paid the homage of flattery, to wealth or secular power.

He founded, in 1854, a religious monthly, the *Jeschurun*, which was published by him until 1870, resumed 1883, under the editorship of his son Isaac, until 1887, when it was merged with the *Mainzer Israelit* of Dr. Lehmann.

The pages of the *Jeschurun* contain, by the side of much that has no enduring value, some excellent essays from Hirsch's pen, replete with shrewd observation and instinct with Jewish feeling (e. g., *Der Hellenismus u. d. Judenthum*, Kislew 5617, *Das Judenthum u. Rom*, Teveth 5617); his refutation of some of Graetz's vagaries argues a certain thoroughness, even objectivity of method; his comments on American conditions, as, e. g., when he republishes and translates Dr. Illovy's Hebrew letter of reproof addressed to Dr. Lilienthal, are bitterly contemptuous.

He began (1857, p. 615) a treatise on Jewish symbolics (*Grundlinien einer juedischen Symbolik*) which was deserving of wider and more respectful notice than it received, being in reality an attempt to lay down "the rules and guiding principles, for the tracing of the ideas underlying the Jewish observance." In applying these rules, of course, he loses himself in a maze of trivialities such as are not likely to appeal to the modern reader. Here, for instance, is his reverentially toilsome worship at the feet of the mysterious Shin on the "houses" of the Tefillin (1859, p. 473).

"Let us, then, ponder on the Shin of the Tefillin, and, first of all, under this view-point as a single letter, and let us ask, to begin with, whether perhaps some concept might inhere in its linguistic significance as letter that might appear on the house-walls of the Tefillin with such pregnancy and in such a harmonious union with everything else that we should be justified at once in seizing upon this concept as the one intended to be conveyed on this occasion."

⁵⁵ Ben Chananya 1863, col. 130 ff.

"Fortunately the letter has only one perfectly crisp, clearly marked linguistic meaning: it is the sign of the relative pronoun, 'which,' often, indeed, with the elliptically implied demonstrativum, 'that which.' This ellipsis is no mere grammatical usage; it lies, rather, essentially in the fundamental concept of the relativum itself; to each relativum, be it remembered, the subject on which it tries to confer an attribute is something not present, as yet unknown; rather does it (the relativum) direct attention to something which is to be made cognizable by the attribute so as to designate it by means of such attribute."

Despite the mountain-labored-mouse appearance of these linguistic-philosophical finicalities it must in fairness be admitted, with S. A. Hirsch, that the "Symbolik" is a remarkable effort in which the eloquent and ingenious author proves "beyond doubt that a Jewish Symbolics really does exist," also that the introduction on the theory of symbols in general is "a noteworthy sample of a philosophical disquisition."⁵⁶

In 1867 Hirsch began, as the outcome of a course of lectures, the publication of a Pentateuch translation with commentary, the last volume of which appeared in '78, the **The Pentateuch.** whole work reaching, in 1903, its fourth edition. Moses Mendelssohn's German translation, printed in Hebrew lettering, accompanied by a Hebrew commentary, had been anathematized by the Horwitzs and Raphael Kohns of his day; Hirsch's version which passed unchallenged was German in all but the text, thus marking the changed attitude of orthodoxy itself.⁵⁷

Version and commentary teem with the individualisms and eccentricities of the author; yet both are far from meriting the disdain with which they were, and largely are, viewed by men of the Reform wing. It is, of course, not practicable at this juncture to set forth in detail Hirsch's peculiar methods of exegesis of which samples have been given in what has gone before; a few illustrations, taken more or less at random, must suffice. He starts out with a small treatise on the significance of sound-similarity. (Lautverwand-

⁵⁶ Jewish Quarterly Review, vol. II, 134.

⁵⁷ Prof. Deutsch in Jewish Comment.

Parenthetically it should be remarked that Hirsch was not only blissfully ignorant of all Oriental languages outside of Hebrew and Aramaic, but went so far as to advise the young Graetz deliberately against pursuing the study of Syriac.⁶⁰

It is self-understood that he treats the מדרש with all the respect belonging to scientific methods of interpretation; the hermeneutic rules of rabbinical exegesis are, to him, founded in the laws of Hebrew expression, as well as in general logic. Here, for example, is his ingenious apologue for the רבוי: "it is an intrinsic peculiarity of the Hebrew linguistic concept to employ this particle (את) only in connection with the accusative: the object, never with nominative: with subject. In the object the matter is apprehended from the standpoint of the subject from which a movement proceeds towards it, in the light, therefore, in which the object appears in the view of another. The nature of things, however, is, to every outsider, completely veiled, incomprehensible. We know things only in and through their אותות, in their effects wherein their peculiarity expresses itself and which form the only media for their comprehension. It, therefore, makes an important difference to the linguistic feeling of our sages whether the object is expressed by simply naming the thing or through the mediation of the particle את. In the first case the effect relates to the thing alone; in the latter, in addition, to all those matters in which it exhibits its essential activity. Thus כבד אביר would only represent the father as the object of honoring; את אביר causes this honoring to be extended also upon all those who stand in such relationship to the

⁶⁰ Dr. Herm. Deutsch, in an "appreciation of Samson Raphael Hirsch's originality as a writer" tries to justify this indefensible crotchet: "Auf der Geltendmachung dieses Standpunktes beruht die ganze Hirsch'sche Etymologie. Man mag den Ausfuehrungen hierin im Einzelnen Billigung schenken oder nicht, ihre grundsatzliche Richtigkeit muss jeder einraeumen. Es ist geradezu unglaublich, wie sehr man sich gewoehnt hat, zur Erklaerung irgend eines dunkeln Ausdrucks der Bibel sofort in anderen Sprachen Umschau zu halten, anstatt im naechsten Umkreise nachzusehen und sich in den Geist der eigenen zu vertiefen." (Jubilaums-Nummer, p. 35.)

father that the person of the father is made present in them, e. g., **אשת אביך** the stepmother, as also **את אמוך** includes the stepfather.

את is therefore in reality a **רבוי** which allows an object to be taken in a wider compass" (p. 6, edition iv, 1903).

The **תהום** (Babylonian Tiamat)⁶⁰ he translates picturesquely "das Gewoge." With the same seriousness with which he philologizes and philosophizes over the **רבוי** of **את השמים** he labors over the double **חזר** of **מארת** where, besides, the number of the subject disagrees with that of the predicate. Here he grows profound, in corroboration of Goethe's: "denn eben wo Begriffe fehlen, da stellt das Wort zur rechten Zeit sich ein": "The defectively written pl. fem., with predicate in the singular, causes everywhere the divided multiplicity to step back and presents by preference the abstract, unified concept which manifests itself in many objects, becomes apparent through many objects. . . . In the present instance the unit is doubly emphasized, the plural form abbreviated **יהי**, put in the singular. The harmonious unity of the numberless light-bearing constellations is thus pictured; inasmuch as all of them, in their boundless multitude, yet form one harmonious system."

Instructive, almost entertaining, is the manner in which he deals with such ticklish passages as **ואחות תובל קין נעמה** or **לפני מלך** **בישראל** which he translates "before the first guide had arisen for them in Moses."

In the Jeschurun he had, now and then, given specimens of the length to which he was prepared to go in the extravagances of an individual exegesis.⁶²

A translation of the Psalms appeared in 1882 (in second edition, 1898). He accepts, whenever indicated, the authorship of David, respectively Moses and Solomon; the Korahides, **The Psalms**. Assaf, Heman are "geistesverwandte Maenner," aroused to emulation by David's example. Psalms which unmistakably refer to experiences of the exile are accounted for by prophetic prevision:

⁶¹ Fried. Delitzsch Prolegomena, p. 113.

⁶² See his translation of **יפת אלהים ליפת** (die Pforten der Gemuether oeffnet Gott dem Japhet), Kisslev 5617.

"The spirit of God which rested upon him (David) from the consecration of his choice permitted him to enter mentally and sympathetically into those times of aberration and trial awaiting his people which had been foretold long ago in the basic books of the law so that he could transmit, even for the time of Exile, the poetic word of warning and reminder, comfort, elevation and perseverance towards God's vouched-for aim" (p. LV., Psalms).

A truce, however, to further citations of Hirsch's strongly flavored exegesis. After all has been told, when we take stock of his complete acceptance of Agadistic exegesis as possessed of almost unquestioned authority, of rabbinical hermeneutics as scientific principle, of the audacious ignoring he deals out alike to Semitics, to established principles of historical and literary criticism, to obvious analogues from other sacred books, faiths and traditions, the unbridled latitude he allows himself⁶³ in linguistic speculation, homiletic violence to unsophisticated texts, philosophical excursions on the slenderest of foundations, there still remains an abundance of spirited apperçus, shrewd observations, felicitous parallelisms, profound reflections and homiletical gems, which stamp the book as the product of a mind of robust idiosyncrasy and rare fertility.

We return to Hirsch's practical work in his congregation, as it led him on to an aggressive step which, for a time, constituted the burning question of the hour for German **The Genossenschaft.** Judaism as organized by communities. At an early time Hirsch felt restive under the bond of his connection with the Frankfort communal council. In 1851⁶⁴ his flock was organized as Israelitische Genossenschaft, a mere religious society; a congregation they could not be under the law; the congregation was the whole community; to shake off that subordination meant, under the constitutional forms of the government, to renounce Judaism. Hirsch desired independence from the supremacy of the communal organization. He did not fear, as did the Reformers, disruption into sects; he even preferred such dis-

⁶³ Even B. Drachmann protests against the symbolical meanings which Hirsch attempts to force upon the superscriptions to the Psalms.

⁶⁴ Jewish Encyclopedia (Vol. V p. 489).

ruption to any intolerable compromise, or coercion. In two pamphlets: "Das Princip der Gewissensfreiheit," 1874, and "Der Austritt aus der Gemeinde," 1876, he asked for the right to separate and independent organization for the organism of which he was the spiritual head. The Frankfort community, through its officials, offered to the intending seceders almost every conceivable inducement to prevent what was regarded as an open breach; they held out promises of "not only a strictly orthodox synagog, but also a Mikwah, and a rabbi licensed by men of undoubted orthodoxy, who should supervise all ritual institutions. They even offered to introduce such a system of bookkeeping that the taxes of orthodox members should not be applied to the maintenance of a Reform synagog, or to the salaries of the Reform rabbi."⁶⁵

Hirsch's stubborn rejection of these proffers was disapproved by orthodox coryphees as staunch as Selig Baer Bamberger of Wuerzburg and Dr. Horwitz of Frankfort;

A Firm Stand. many considered the movement in the light of an open and incurable split in the Jewish ranks. With an uncompromisingness of spirit which proves the lengths to which Hirsch was ready to go, he assures parliament "before the Lord, the God of Truth, that between none of the various denominations existing within the Christian Church is there more thorough-going antagonism than between Reform Judaism and orthodox, law-observant Judaism."⁶⁶

He obtained powerful aid from Eduard Lasker, the great Jewish parliamentarian, who had been born in an orthodox environment, but whose sympathy was grounded upon his political principles as a believer in liberalism. The opposition was led by Ludwig Philippson, who himself petitioned Kultusminister Dr. Falk against the law and caused several congregations to indite similar addresses; the famous jurist Dr. Makower⁶⁷ deprecated the movement in a book on Jewish congregational conditions; in Parliament the law was strenuously opposed by the historian Von Sybel. It passed (July

⁶⁵ Prof. Deutsch in Jewish Comment.

⁶⁶ Quoted in M. Kayserling: Ludwig Philippson, p. 314.

⁶⁷ Ibid p. 317.

28, 1876) by a large majority. The event has disproved the fears of permanent schism that had been entertained; here, as in London and Hamburg, time has healed the soreness of the bitterest quarrels; under the auspices of unhampered individualism the solidarity of the Jew, as of Judaism, remains unbroken.

There is little more of Hirsch's literary or practical work to record. The discordant anti-Semitic chorus of the early eighties elicited from him (1884) a pamphlet: "On the relation of the Talmud to Judaism and to the social position of its adherents," which was intended to "pave the road to a more just appreciation of the Talmud, as well as of the followers of Judaism."⁶⁸ It contains the well-known extracts which are employed in this species of apologetics; the unusual element in his method of presentation is in the effort (p. 7) to vindicate for the Talmud recognition as the "one only source of actual, genuine Judaism."⁶⁹

The discussion of Hirsch's career and work has afforded but scant occasion for dwelling upon the paramount element of his strength, his forceful, imposing personality.

His Personality. He is described by Graetz as small of stature, but of commanding seriousness and impressive dignity of bearing; by a coincidence which does not bear the appearance of mere accident, several of the orthodox leaders, Bernays, Frankel and Sachs, to quote a few, were accused of haughtiness and seemed to cultivate a certain solemnity of behavior, amounting sometimes to habits of aristocratic seclusion, while reformers, like Geiger and Holdheim, displayed a less formal democracy of manner and were more approachable to the general public.⁷⁰ Among his colleagues, while he counted devoted followers, Hirsch was, like most of the orthodox leaders, largely isolated;⁷¹ he protested

⁶⁸ An anonymous contributor to the Jubilaums-Nummer (p. 32) claims to have private information to the effect that the downfall of Ignatieff was indirectly due to the influence of Hirsch and of the little pamphlet.

⁶⁹ A translation of the prayerbook was left in Ms and published some time after his death. (*סדר תפילות ישראל* 2nd edition, 1906).

⁷⁰ Hirsch was called *גם רוח* by his enemies (Ben Chananya 1863, p. 676).

⁷¹ For Z. Frankel's experience in Dresden, see Graetz Memoir, p. 37.

against the need of rabbinical conferences and never attended one, urging, instead, efforts for religious education.⁷² In the historical and literary research of his day he had no part, except as a vigorous protestant. When, e. g., Frankel's *דרכי המשנה* appeared, he fell foul of the book, denouncing it as *דרכי המשנה*⁷³ on account of Frankel's recognition of historical unfoldment, until even the peace-loving Rappoport burst forth in anger.⁷⁴

It is, unfortunately, impossible to acquit Hirsch of fanaticism, as Martin Philippon does.⁷⁵ His ungallant insistence on a wig for the visiting bride⁷⁶ of the young Graetz **Fanaticism.** may have been palliated by the Moravian environment; numerous outbursts, however, in his *Jeschurun*⁷⁷ and elsewhere⁷⁸ display the intolerance of his zeal, though he made occasional concessions, even in later years, to the cause of peace with the non-Jewish world.⁷⁹

As to the impressiveness of his preaching we have Geiger's testimony to his "extraordinary eloquence" in the years of their early manhood; a description of his power in **His Preaching.** the pulpit is given by S. A. Hirsch in words which are not uncolored by the writer's undisguised hero-worship.

"With a preacher like Hirsch it is as with a great singer. The effect of the performance must be felt, but cannot be described and is lost to posterity. Whenever in his sermons some struggle, some hesitation was noticed, it was because he was applying to himself the reins, not the spur. He had to restrain the great copiousness in the outpour of ideas, in the exuberant flow of words which sug-

⁷² Bernfeld *הריפורמציון* p. 200.

⁷³ Ben Chananya, p. 61.

⁷⁴ Bernfeld *הריפורמציון* תולדות

⁷⁵ Neueste Geschichte des jued. Volkes, p. 184.

⁷⁶ The Jubilaeums-Nummer traces to the last will of S. R. H.'s grandfather this protest „gegen eine Zeit, die dem juedischen Weibe die Krone haeuslicher Zuechtigkeit vom Haupte reisst." p. 8.

⁷⁷ On Sefirah, Iyar 5619, *Das Hamburger Attentat*, Iyar 5620.

⁷⁸ Offener Brief an S. Ehrwuerden Herrn Distrikt-Rabbiner S. B. Bamberger 1877, p. 7.

⁷⁹ Ben Chananya 1862, p. 396.

gested themselves to him; and with the greatest skill he selected, on the spur of the moment, those that were most fitting. The effect his addresses had on his audience was always electric. Suffice it to say that the instances were by no means few, that men of culture and education entered the synagog with opinions antagonistic to his, and left it again with serious doubts as to the correctness of their views, to end in becoming his most ardent followers."⁸⁰

It is no small testimony, both to the depth of his sincerity and to the force of his example, that he should have reared all of his ten children (of his five sons only one survives him) to a full acceptance of his exacting principles, that the community he has created should have grown, as it did, in numbers and in strength⁸¹ during the nearly twenty years since its great leader had been gathered to his fathers.

Whether we find ourselves in agreement with Hirsch or not, we must revere in him the born religious leader. Here was a man who in a real sense, to quote Bernfeld,

A Religious Leader. preached *דבר לא בעתו*, a lusty-limbed, bold-stroke swimmer against one of the mightiest currents of all time; he was tragically deceived, through confidence in his own sincerity and power, through reverential loyalty to the misprized treasures of our past, into rejecting the light of criticism, scorning the aid of research, stemming his giant strength to the arrest of intellectual growth; his loyal sentimentality clung obstinately even to such externalities as the North-German pronunciation of Hebrew which he prided himself as having brought to honor as *not* "a corrupt Jargon."⁸²

The man had sprung panoplied into the arena; re-editing his Horeb

⁸⁰ Another even more enthusiastic description of his power as a preacher is furnished by Dr. Armin Schnitzer of Komorn (Jubilaeums-Nummer, p. 20).

⁸¹ A synagog, costing \$400,000, was dedicated by the Religions-Genossenschaft last year.

⁸² Preface to Horeb, 2nd edition, written 3 months before his death. Drachmann here parts ways with him (Preface VII) calling it "an entirely unnecessary element of uncouthness and bizarrerie." Gotthold Solomon (Geiger's Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift fuer juedische Theologie II, p. 421 note) mistakes it for „juedisch-polnische Mundart."

after an interval of nearly fifty years he found nothing to change in it, as he had left the Ben Usiel unchanged in its second edition, after fifty-two years of strenuous life.

He was a man of one mold, steering consistently, indefatigably and unwaveringly for one aim; the conservation of Judaism in the form in which he conceived it. Within that sphere his fervor, his industry, his capacity for self-sacrifice, his purity of motive and loftiness of principle challenge comparison; he was the uncompromising radical among the orthodox, as Holdheim was among the Reformers. There was almost as much divergence among orthodox leaders and orthodox tendencies as there was in the Reform camp; if in the latter we often find Geiger arrayed against Philippsen, Stein at opposite poles to Holdheim, Hirsch and Einhorn, the two Adlers, Aub, Wechsler and others contending for divergent conceptions of practical Reform, so do we also find Sachs and Oettinger expressing opposite views, Hirsch and Bamberger, Frankel and Hirsch taking opposite sides.

The radicals at the extreme poles were Holdheim and Hirsch, the one ready to make the most far-reaching concessions to the "demands of the age," the other contending for the infallibility and eternity of the whole body of inherited tradition.

Yet they were brothers in spirit, audacious temperaments both, hungry for a whole truth; each of them, the one in Frankfort on the Oder, the other in Frankfort on the Maine, searching the Jewish observances for their symbolic and homiletic contents, each flinging history and psychology to the winds in the chase for that inexorable honesty of the soul which men call logical consistency. Hirsch, the unconscious **אפיקורוס**, if we may believe Bernfeld, the **עם הארץ** according to his Moravian traducers, accuses the Jewish world of undervaluing "**ש"ס** and **פוסקים** because we do not study them." Holdheim, the **עלוי** and **הריף** turns his training for pilpulistic gladiatorship to mortal homethrusts into every secret Achilles-heel of formidable legalism. The men were, to one another, like intellectual antipodes of scornful foot and averted head; yet their fiery souls

were children both, of that prophet intensity, of that unquenchable inward fire which draws the yearning dreamer, the chain-free soul on to the goal, be it to the stars of the sky or to the dust of self-abasement.

Hirsch and Holdheim, both standing in virtual isolation,⁸³ cultivated intensively their local field, meanwhile furnishing to others the logical justification for the tendency of which they were the forefront champions. Yet one was a mystic, the other a rationalist; one a merciless analyst, the other an imaginative builder of speculative air-castles; one the militant controversialist, the trumpet-blast calling to the battle of progress; the other the zealous saint, sermonizing in pamphlet, catechism and commentary; the one vivisectioning Judaism in the unshrinking pursuit of light and freedom, the other adorning it with sparkling gems of sermonry and easily tarnished glitter of ingenuity, to heighten its charms to the young of his people.

But enough of comparisons and contrasts; only one final word of criticism as to "romantic orthodoxy,"⁸⁴ versus uninspired Reform.

To belong to the romantic school is partly **Romanticism** vs. to love quaintness and the vague tints of **Recklessness**. distance for their own sake, partly to claim all beauty and virtue for the past, in depreciation of the prose and pettiness of the present. That modern orthodoxy holds up this enchanting mirror to the fading procession behind us, is true; it is just as true, on the other hand, that Reform is a brave enthroning of progress as against inertia, humanitarianism against narrowness, the aesthetically pleasing and modernly vital as against the slovenly and the meaningless; but the "spirit of the times" to which we pay the homage of changes and abandonments is only too often the pampered temper of self-indulgence, impatient of religious restraint, a foolishly copied disdain of the prejudice against all things of strong Jewish flavor. We have never protested against the desertion not only of the Saturday-Sabbath, but of all Sabbath-observance

⁸³ Hirsch founded, however, in 1886 the „Freie Vereinigung fuer die Interessen des orthodoxen Judenthums“, which is said to have considerably increased his influence. (Jubilaeums-Nummer, p. 15.)

⁸⁴A term invented by Leop. Loew.

with half the religious earnestness, the fierce indignation for which so menacing an evil called; our summer adjournment of all worship, our secular Sunday-Sabbaths, the hustling of historical holidays on the part of inconvenienced rabbi has recorded to coming ages the materialistic shallowness with which our methods of religious leadership have become affected. The distinction between orthodox and Reform tendencies is often temperamental, rather than mental; it is often the difference between a tender, a not unwholesome sentimentality which loyally clings to every shred of its patrimony and between the desire, at all hazards, to be in the wave of the prevailing current, often the mistaking of a temporary taste or fashion for one of the eternal standards of beauty and truth.

Samson Raphael Hirsch had the mental equipment, the abounding energy, the fiery zeal, the personal purity and unaffected piety that go to the making of a great religious leader; **In Goluth.** had he been planted in a national soil, had he grown into compact spiritual harmony under the auspices of a vigorous, assertive national culture, he might have towered into the stature of one of the world's prophets; distracted by fermentations and outer disharmonies of every kind, tossed into the struggle for emancipation and the controversies of Reform, torn between civic responsibilities to a Teutonic civilization and national religious duties to his Jewish brothers, flung from Northern Germany to Western Austria and back again to the old free city where he ended his career, he became no more than the local guide and inspirer whose voice scarce carried to a portion within a province of scattered Israel.⁸⁵ Yet after all is said, without permitting ourselves to lapse into perfunctory panegyrics, we must allow him to have been a priest of the most high God, one whose lips did guard knowledge, at whose mouth teaching was sought, he being a messenger of the Lord of Hosts.

Dr. Kohler spoke as follows:

Mr. President and Brethren: If criticism means faultfinding I shall not prove a good critic. The life-picture presented by Rabbi

⁸⁵ The Jubilaeums-Nummer discovers traces of his influence in Hungary (p. 45) and Holland (p. 47).

Heller is a fair and impartial characterization of the great Jewish leader, Samson Raphael Hirsch, and contrasts favorably with the articles appearing in the American Jewish press on the occasion of his centennial. He was by no means "the recognized leader of Orthodoxy in Germany." The representative leaders of traditional Judaism, the masters of the Yeshiboth, did not regard him as their peer. It is amusing to find him in an editorial confounded with the radical reformer, Dr. Samuel Hirsch. As a matter of fact Samson Raphael Hirsch bore neither the title of Doctor nor that of Rabbi. His Frankfurt flock called him Rabbi Hirsch; the world at large knew him simply as Samson Raphael Hirsch. Indeed, he was a man *sui generis*. He stood alone and kept aloof from his colleagues on either side. He was in his social life a thorough aristocrat. Never did he invite us, his pupils, to enter his domestic circle and discuss with him our personal affairs or subjects of interest, religious or otherwise. All the more he impressed us and all his hearers by his powerful personality, his extreme earnestness and the peculiar emphasis he laid on modern training, even in expounding Bible and Talmud. There was nothing artificial about him. He was unique. And I, for my part, gladly offer on this occasion my tribute of regard and admiration for him whom I proudly call my teacher, and to whom I am indebted for the very best part of my innermost life. It may sound paradoxical, and yet it is true, that without knowing it, Samson Raphael Hirsch liberated me from the thralldom of blind authority worship, and led me imperceptibly away from the old mode of thinking, or rather of not thinking, into the realm of free reason and research. His method of harmonizing modern culture with ancient thought, however fanciful, fascinated me. His lofty idealism impressed me. He made me, the Yeshibah Bachur from Mayence and Altona, a modern man. The spirit of his teachings electrified me and became a lifelong influence to me.

Samson Raphael Hirsch was imbued with the spirit of cultured humanity. In all his sermons and writings he deplored the narrowness of the Ghetto view, which estranged Jews from the world in which and for which they should live and work. To him the *man* came first, and then the *Jew*, since the latter is to be nothing less than a model man, an *Israel-Mensch*, a man of a higher type. Juda-

ism to him was the training of God's people for the championship and exemplification of true humanity. All the statutes of the Torah, the Talmud, and even the Schulchan Aruch were to him but symbolic lessons, offered to the Jew as monitor and exemplar of a God-fearing and man-loving humanity. This was no longer Orthodoxy. His "Neunzehn Briefe," his "Horeb" and all his teachings were a bold attempt at a revival of Orthodoxy. It was a recrudescence, the afterglow of Orthodoxy. He tried to galvanize its dry bones by the power of his fertile, resourceful and vigorous mind. He made the people within his reach feel that they could be loyal to the traditional views and practices, and yet be modern, nineteenth-century Jews. He created not a new school, but a new system, called Neo-Orthodoxy.

But no sooner is the scientific method of philological, historical and psychological investigation applied to it, than the whole structure proves a fabric of cobwebs. This was my experience on entering the University, an enthusiastic follower of Hirsch. I soon found myself beset with doubts, which even my beloved teacher, to whom I poured out my whole heart, could no longer solve for me. The *historical perception* of things, which Hirsch lacked, had alienated Graetz, who became a follower of Ewald. My critical studies led me in the van of the new school, now known as the Kuenen-Wellhausen school, and I became a follower of Abraham Geiger. But pardon this personality.

I want to accentuate a point overlooked by Rabbi Heller. We may enjoy mounting some Alpine glacier and gazing at the interesting survival of an antediluvian world, but we refuse to build our homes in realms so far from civilization. *Romanticism* misunderstands real life. We cannot live the dead past over again. Samson Raphael Hirsch had not the faintest idea of the *historical* growth of language and law, of custom and tradition, nor did he ever recognize the use or necessity of studying the various historical forces, or the strata of either Biblical, Talmudic or post-Talmudic Judaism. He simply walked in the footsteps of Isaac Bernays, the undisputed author of the "Biblische Orient," in which, as was shown by Geiger, the same fantastic explanation of Biblical terms and names occurs as in the "Neunzehn Briefe." But while the Hamburg Hakam

wrapped himself in impenetrable, sphynx-like mystery, his great pupil had the courage of his convictions and he unfolded the deeper, spiritual forces of Judaism by the power of a true, religious genius.

His view of the Bible and tradition is naive, childish. His commentaries on the Pentateuch and the Psalms, originally lectures on almost every passage, teem with exegetical absurdities and anomalies. His symbolism of the Law, an apotheosis of the Schulchan Aruch, is a quaint combination of sound, practical wisdom and nonsense. And yet all his writings furnish valuable suggestions to the modern Rabbi. His *universalism*, his *optimism*, his conception of Judaism as a religion of joy, of hope, of faith in humanity and humanity's future, are still an inspiration to the Jewish reader and a warning against clannishness and exclusiveness. He speaks in unmistakable accents of the world mission of the Jew and of Judaism. Of special interest and importance are his writings on religious pedagogics. It was in fact through his work in the Israelitische Buergerschule that he exerted a lasting and ever-growing influence upon the homes of his Frankfurt congregation, which remains loyal to him and his teachings to this very day.

We cannot accept any of his teachings. For us the issue is between Samson Raphael Hirsch, the romanticist, the advocate of uncompromising stability, and Abraham Geiger, the Reform leader, the inaugurator of historical research, and of the progress of the *inner* life of Judaism. Both Hirsch and Geiger studied together in Bonn. Geiger's historical studies led him into the depths of the inner development of Judaism, and his genius did more for the evolution of modern Judaism than either Zunz or Steinschneider. Samson Raphael Hirsch, with his deep religious spirit, shut his eyes to the historical facts and phases of Judaism, and he became a new pillar of Orthodoxy, as symbolizer of the Law, galvanizing the dead forms, by infusing into them a semblance of life. Yet after all he presents the type of the modern Jew. Whether he would have become a greater religious genius had he been born on Palestinian soil and raised amid exclusively Jewish surroundings, in a Judean nationality, I beg to doubt. He was proud of his German nationality, declared himself a product of modern culture, imbued with the spirit of Ger-

man idealism, and blessed the emancipation of the Jew as the dawn of the new era of universalism, the final goal of Judaism.

So in spite of his Orthodoxy we shall hold the memory of Samson Raphael Hirsch dear as one of the great leaders of modern Judaism, because he revived, not the form, but the spirit.

Dr. Meyer spoke as follows :

Mr. President and Colleagues: I do not feel that I can bring much of a contribution to this discussion, after what you have just heard from the able pens of the writer and of Dr. Kohler. However, in reading the paper which Rabbi Heller so generously sent me in advance of the meeting, there were certain points which struck me as of further interest to us. First of these, I mention the opposition which the advocates of the newer Orthodoxy display to the philosophy of Maimonides. Not only is this evident in the attitude of Bernays and of S. R. Hirsch, but it is just as marked in the utterances of Dr. Schechter and his school. It seems to me that it would be of more than passing interest to us to have developed here for us in a paper the influence of the Maimonidean philosophy on the Reform movement of the nineteenth century.

Hirsch's interpretation of the Sabbath ideal as that of consecration is of great significance to us, as it chimes in with a great deal of the more radical views on this topic as evidenced in the controversies of the German synods and conferences. It also brings with it the suggestion that this man, fanatical as he was in his interpretation of the traditional law, uncompromising as he was in his loyalty to traditional Judaism, was despite himself, a child of his times, a modern, nay, even a radical. It has constantly been in my mind while reading his works that he represents above all the peculiarities of individuality of the transitional. His viewpoint is very remarkably paralleled in a book which appeared during the past year from the pen of Dr. Newman Smythe, of New Haven, Conn., in which he treated of "Passing Protestantism and Coming Catholicism," modernism, being the term he uses to express the attitude of the transitional. Writing as a Christian, he of course advocates that the old documents of the Christian church, the creeds, the articles, etc., etc., be retained intact, but that they be read in a new

light, that of the new twentieth century thought. Attacked on both sides by the uncompromising orthodox and the bolder radicals, with a foot in either camp, these men represent types of religious thought of which we cannot but take the fullest account.

Hirsch represents, too, the emotional element in Judaism. His feeling for things vital in Judaism was most remarkable, and most helpful, too; still it was based upon nothing lasting. His interpretation of Judaism seems to me to be in direct line of descent from that of Philo and the older Cabbalists. He is the modern mystic. His emphasis upon this emotional element was no doubt born out of his general opposition to things Reform, which laid too much stress upon the purely intellectual elements of the religious life, as well as out of his temperament which made for things mystical and emotional.

But a word as regards Hirsch as a Biblical exegete and scholar, and even this had not escaped me had I not heard certain unwarranted praise of his work as an exegete from the lips of several of our colleagues. Hirsch was above all else a preacher; and so when he wrote his commentary to Scripture, aside from his fanciful philology, he undoubtedly undermined the value of this work by its homiletical bias. Homiletics is, to be sure, part of interpretation, but to confuse it with exegesis is unscientific and therefore destructive.

Fortunately, Hirsch's place in Jewish history is not to be measured by his contribution to the science of Judaism, but by the influence which his commanding personality exercised over the Frankfurt community. Dr. Philipson and others have pointed out the low ebb of Jewish religious activity in western Germany in the early nineteenth century. S. R. Hirsch succeeded admirably in stemming the tide of de-Judaization, not only in his own community, but throughout the confines of the Fatherland. The fact that so much that has been vital in the Jewish life of Germany has emanated from Frankfurt in the past century must be attributed more to the force of his personality than to any other cause. The tragedy of his career is that his wonderful personality was not even more forceful in reviving Jewish spirit in a still wider field. I can but compare

him to our Dr. I. M. Wise, of blessed memory. The day will come when much that both these men wrote will have lost its vitality as contributions to Jewish theology or to Biblical science; but, thank God, they will not be finally adjudged on that basis. The institutions which they erected, the influences which they themselves exerted, as well as those constructive forces which emanated from these institutions, these will be the measure of the men. Hirsch's spirituality was probably the most marked characteristic of his personality, but not less was his deep intense love of all that was Jewish and his broad, forceful universalistic interpretations of Judaism. Indeed, there are few of the most radical, more radical than he in the interpretation of such terms as Israel, etc., etc.

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BIBLE FOR REFORM JUDAISM IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH.

By RABBI JULIAN MORGENSTERN, Cincinnati, O.

In the little town in which I formerly officiated, I was privileged to be a member of the Ministers' Association. At the first meeting I attended a paper on the Book of Jonah was presented, seeking to prove the historical probability of the book by citing cases of men swallowed by whales or sharks and finally cast forth alive. The discussion followed two main lines, the one insisting that the very presence of the book in the Bible was sufficient reason for not questioning its veracity, and the other contending that the book is in no sense historical, but merely a didactic composition based upon an ancient solar myth, and written after the exile. This latter view was very distressing to some of the good and pious brethren, one of whom, after arguing most valiantly for the absolute historicity of the book, asked "If the Book of Jonah be not history, be only mythology or fiction, we must admit this same possibility for every book of the Bible, and if so, then where does Christianity stand?"

This same question, expressed, however, more directly, has significance for Judaism also. Since Biblical criticism has long since passed beyond the limits of speculation, has become a science in the strictest sense of the term, and has proved that the Bible is not throughout absolute history, that the Pentateuch is not, with the possible exception of a very small fragment, the work of Moses, above all is not the result of direct divine revelation, but altogether the work of human hands, representing a historical and religious development of approximately six hundred years, since all this is unquestionably true, where then does Judaism stand?

True, the problem of Judaism differs somewhat from that of Christianity. For the latter the whole Bible must be of literally divine origin, since otherwise all those passages of the Old Testa-

ment, which according to Christian theology foretell the coming of Christ, have absolutely no Christological value. But Judaism, even the most orthodox, has never regarded more than the Pentateuch as of directly divine origin and authority. But upon this one premise, that *Torath Moshe Missinai*, Judaism was based, or at least was thought and thought itself based. While therefore we readily admit the conclusions of Biblical science in connection with the other books of the Bible, as regards the Pentateuch it is an altogether different matter. And because of the fact that the Pentateuch is in itself more of a unit than the entire Bible, its contents more readily understood, and their significance for Judaism more easily comprehended, the problem of Judaism becomes all the more simple and direct, but at the same time all the more insistent, than that of Christianity. If then the main conclusions of Biblical Science be correct, and the entire Bible, but particularly the Pentateuch be solely of human origin, then what is left of the Bible of, and for, Judaism?

There are various attempted solutions of this problem. We may, with Orthodoxy, refuse absolutely to consider or even conceive of the arguments of Biblical Science or to admit even its premises valid. We may deny the existence of internal contradictions within the Pentateuch, or while recognizing these, argue them away by *Ribbui Umi'ut* or other casuistic methods, and insist that the Torah, as we now have it, was truly given by God to Moses on Sinai. Or we may with Graetz admit the validity of the principles of Biblical Criticism in so far as they affect only the Prophets and the Hagiographa, but refuse to apply them to the Pentateuch, or to acknowledge this a legitimate province for scientific research. Or we may with certain Orthodox scholars of today even grant that the Pentateuch comes within the province of Biblical Science, but seek to disprove the conclusions of the latter by wrongfully applying its methods, by overestimating the value of tradition, or by magnifying certain errors and mistaken conclusions of Biblical scholars.

Or finally, we may with our Reform Judaism, go so far as, theoretically at least, to accept even the most extreme teachings of Biblical Science, and even pride ourselves thereon as evidencing our liberality and devotion to truth. We may deny the principle of divine revelation and with it the binding force of the Torah. We

may magnify the importance and sublimity of the teachings of the prophets, and proclaim that Reform Judaism is merely the return to and the logical and legitimate continuation of their teachings, is a protest against the extreme legalism of the post-exilic age. And we may, directly or indirectly, insist that the individual reason and conscience form the fundamental premise of all religion, and that the Bible has value for us only in so far as some of its beautiful epigrams accord with our individual wisdom and serve as texts for Sabbath discourses.

But viewing the matter soberly we see that this attitude of Reform Judaism toward the Bible is purely negative. We are continually protesting and denying, declaring what the Bible is *not*. I was once speaking to a gentleman, prominent in Jewish circles in this country, and the conversation turned upon a certain professor who had declared that the Biblical flood-story was borrowed from the Babylonian. About this the gentleman was very wroth. I told him that the professor was undoubtedly correct. "But then," he objected, "the Bible cannot be the actual word of God, and so what is the use of reading it, or even of remaining a Jew?" And just this attitude is, I believe, characteristic of Reform Judaism. Since the Bible is not of divine origin, then it is little more to us than a relic of the past, and we have only our reason and conscience to establish our basis and sanction of religion. We seldom ask ourselves, "Granting that the Bible or the Pentateuch is not the directly revealed word of God, what significance, if any, has it for Reform Judaism?"

Biblical Science has developed mightily during the past century, and particularly during the last half century, due in the main to three prime forces.

First there is the so-called "Biblical Criticism." We need not here discuss the principles of this branch of Biblical Science, nor defend its general conclusions. Sufficient to say that its chief tasks have been to establish the correct Hebrew text of the Bible, to then determine as exactly as possible the dates of composition of the various books and documents, and then to trace the historical and religious development of the Israelitish people during the long period covered by Biblical literature.

It is in great part a speculative science. Accordingly it was inevitable that many theories should have been now and then advanced, only in time to be wholly or partly disproved. Upon these the opponents of the science have seized and magnified to their heart's content in order to discredit this work in the eyes of the world. But to no avail. The wonder is not that such theories should have been advanced, but rather that there should be today such practical unanimity of thought upon the main conclusions. These we can accept without hesitation. The existence in the Hexateuch of at least six main documents, the two or three-fold authorship of Isaiah and Zechariah, the post-exilic date of Joel, the priestly influence in Chronicles, etc., these are today settled facts.

The chief accomplishment of "Biblical Criticism" was the unquestionable proof that the Bible and the Pentateuch cannot be of literally divine origin, must be the work of human hands, must therefore conform to, and be judged by human standards. In itself this may seem purely negative and destructive work. But even if no more, although the establishment of the truth can never seem to me merely negative and destructive, it at least paved the way to a great, positive and constructive work, yes, began and carried on as far as its own limitations permitted, the positive, constructive work itself.

The second great force influencing the development of Biblical Science was the study of Semitic Languages and Literatures. In great measure this has worked hand in hand with, and has in part served as a necessary check upon, and guide for, Biblical Criticism. It has in many cases determined the correct text of the Bible, has suggested the meaning of unknown terms and often furnished the key for the right understanding of the origin and development of ceremonies and beliefs, fundamental in Judaism. Particularly in the last quarter of a century has its influence increased, due to our rapidly growing knowledge, primarily of Assyrian and Babylonian, in second measure of the languages most closely akin to Hebrew, viz: Phœnician, Canaanitic, Moabitic, Aramaic, with its various dialects, etc., and finally to a less degree to Arabic, Ethiopian, Sabæan and kindred languages.

But even more than the languages themselves, their literatures have contributed to the development of Biblical science. Here, too, Babylon was paramount. We know that the greater part of the first eleven chapters of Genesis was borrowed directly from the Babylonian,¹ that Ezekiel's picture of the *K'bhod Jahwe*, seated upon a throne, resting upon a platform above four Cherubim (Ez. 1-10; 43, 1-3), was copied consciously from the typical illustrations of Babylonian deities, as seen, for instance, in the well-known bas-relief upon the rock of Maltaya.² We know, too, that the names Esther and Mordecai are merely Hebraized forms of the names of the Babylonian deities, Ishtar and Marduk.³

Above all, we have a fairly complete history of Western Asia, particularly of the period covered by the Biblical historical narrative, giving us now, for the first time, a correct historical perspective of Israel the nation.⁴ We see Palestine, at the dawn of its history, inhabited by an agricultural people of Semitic stock, divided into small city-states, and all dominated by mighty Babylon. The culture, the official language, and in great measure the religion and habit of thought are all Babylonian. Later we see Palestine subject to Egypt, with the Egyptian influence, however, at a minimum, everything still Babylonian, except the final disposal of the tribute money. Then we see the country overrun by nomadic tribes, likewise of Semitic stock, and the little city-states succumbing one after the other, until half the country is conquered. We see these nomadic tribes settling down to an agricultural life alongside of the original inhabitants and, as is but natural, borrowing the latter's culture,

¹ Cf. Zimmern in „Die Keilinschriften und das alte Testament“, 488-587; Gunkel, „Genesis“² (in Nowack's Handkommentar series) 1-137, as well as all other standard works dealing with the relationship between the Babylonian mythology and religion and the Old Testament.

² Cf. Winckler, „Altorientalische Forschungen“ I., 347f. For a picture of the Maltaya relief cf. v. Luschan, „Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli“, 23.; Frank, „Bilder und Symbole babylonisch-assyrischer Goetter“, 2, or A. Jeremias, „Das alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients“, 11.

³ Cf. Zimmern in „Die Keilinschriften und das alte Testament“, 395; 439, and 516, and the original references there given.

⁴ Cf. any of the modern standard histories of Israel before the exile, such as those of Guthe, Wellhausen, Winckler, Kent and others.

habit of thought, and even their religion. More and more all distinctions, on the one hand between original inhabitant and invader, and on the other between tribe and tribe disappeared, until in time the great Israelitish confederacy was formed, soon, however, giving way to the kingdoms of Israel and Judah. Each was but a very small nation, among neighboring small states, too weak and too jealous, each of its neighbors, to permit of united activities or of complete independence. The history of Israel and Judah is in the main one of tribute and vassalage to, with occasional revolt against, now Tyre, now Syria, now Assyria, now Babylon. It is on the whole a gloomy record of bad government, tyranny and oppression, such as has been characteristic of every little Oriental state from the beginning of history. It is the most incontrovertible proof that Israel's genius does not lie in the field of self-government, that from first to last as a nation Israel was a most dismal failure.

And finally we see Jerusalem captured and Judah led captive to Babylon, at first to mourn, but soon to recover from its grief, and so quickly feel itself at home in this new land that later when opportunity offered to return to the fatherland only the smallest fraction availed themselves thereof. Even then, twenty-five hundred years ago, the unifying and inspiring force in Judaism was not the land where Israel dwelt nor the possession of autonomous government.

From Babylon a small portion of the people returned to the land of their fathers and established a theocratic government, from the first another even more pitiful record of political mismanagement, of vassalage to Persia, Macedon, Egypt and Syria, and finally the glorious, heroic struggle and short-lived triumph of the Maccabees. Israel could ever struggle, ever make sacrifices, ever die, and by dying, attain its ideals. But all this was not self-government.

Such in brief is Israel's history as established by Biblical Science. In the main its contributions seem negative, to correct the one-sided impression of Israel's political greatness and glory that results from the study of the Bible only. They emphasize continually what Israel was not and could not become. But there is one contribution, half positive and half negative, of utmost value, viz, the truth that Israel was but one of many little, almost insignificant Semitic states in Western Asia, and that its political career and ideals dif-

ferred not one whit from those of its neighbors. Politically at least Israel was not God's chosen people.

But the greatest impetus to Biblical Science was from and in the field of Comparative Religion, particularly of Comparative Semitic Religion.⁵ And here the contributions are positive. It gives us a complete and correct history of our religion from its very beginning, a picture differing in many and radical respects from that conveyed by a literal acceptance of the Biblical statements, and yet of all the greater significance because of these differences. It carries us back to a period long antedating even our oldest historical records, and from that remote age brings us down to the present day, forcing home concretely a message of positive, world-wide import.

The religion of our ancestors was in the beginning much the same as that of other Semitic tribes and nations. Their chief deities were two, male and female, corresponding to the Canaanitic and Phoenician Ba'al and Astarte, the great Semitic father-god and mother-goddess. These they worshiped by sacrifices, notably of first-born

⁵ In addition to Robertson-Smith's "The Religion of the Semites"² and the no less valuable work of S. I. Curtiss, "Primitive Semitic Religion of Today" (German edition larger and preferable), cf. also the works on the religion of Israel by Smend, Budde, v. Baudissin, Cheyne, Marti, Sellin and others; on the Babylonian religion, Zimmern in "Die Keilinschriften und das alte Testament"² part II, Jastrow, "The Religion of Assyria and Babylonia" (enlarged and improved German edition in preparation); on the Phoenician religion, Movers, "Die Phoenizier" I, (to be used with extreme caution) Vellay, "Le Culte et les Fetes d'Adonis-Thammouz dans l'Orient Antique"; on the religion of the Arabs previous to Islam, Wellhausen, "Reste des altarabischen Heidentums"²; on particular phases of Semitic cults, Barton, "A Sketch of Semitic Origins" (to be used with caution), the various works of Trumbull and others. In the field of general comparative religion I would single out for particular mention Frazer, "The Golden Bough"² (third edition in preparation) and "Adonis, Attis and Osiris"², and Dieterich, "Mutter Erde". It is proper to add that no account of many of the customs and beliefs of primitive Semitic religion, which I advance in this paper to illustrate my thesis, will be found in the works enumerated above. They are for the most part the result of my own investigations, to which I have here for the first time given public expression, and which I hope to at some time present in fully elaborated form in a volume, "Some Elements of Primitive Semitic Religion."

children, and by festivals held at the critical moments of the harvest season. Their original purpose was not so much to thank the deities for the crops and other blessings, but rather, on the one hand, to remove by appropriate ceremonies and sacrifices the natural taboo resting upon the new crops, flocks and other divine gifts, and on the other hand to compel by the performance of certain so-called sympathetic magical, phallic rites the sexual activities of the great parent deities, and the consequent birth the following season of a new crop of fruits, cattle and human children. Chief among these rites were the sacred dances, in which apparently only women, and most probably only marriageable virgins, participated, and which were followed by scenes of almost indiscriminate sexual intercourse. The principle of sympathetic magic underlying this ceremony was of course that this sacred cohabitation would compel that of the parent deities, and the consequent birth in time of the desired objects.

A prominent part of these annual festivals was the mourning for the death of the divine son, the offspring of these parent deities, and the celebration of his rebirth the following spring. Whether this son-god went by the name of Tammuz, Marduk, Adonis, Dumuzi, Dhu'l Shara or Jephthah's daughter, it was all one. These were the deities, and this the manner of their worship, of all primitive Semitic peoples, our ancestors included.

But at some time, we do not know, in spite of various theories, just when nor under what conditions, but almost certainly before entering Canaan, they came to worship one god, Jahwe. The worship of the father, mother and son ceased, but, as was but natural, many of the old festivals and ceremonies, even the grossest, were retained in the new cult.

But settling down among a people of superior culture, who still worshiped the old trinity, above all learning now from these neighbors an agricultural life, learning particularly that this trinity were the deities of agricultural life, and that in their hand lay all agricultural blessings, the bestowal of which was contingent upon the performance of certain sympathetic magical rites, it was inevitable that our ancestors should come once more to worship the old deities in the old way. Jahwe was still worshiped outwardly, nominally, in the temple, but the hearts of the people belonged to Ba'al, Astarte

and Tammuz. The combat lasted almost one thousand years. Now, under David, and during the first years of Solomon, and again under Josiah, Jahwe seemed to triumph. But only for a time. In spite of the life and works and burning words of inspired prophets, custom and superstition and politics prevailed, and the worship of the original trinity, modified from time to time by foreign polytheistic influences, continued the popular religion even into the exile.⁶

⁶It is a common fallacy, into which however most Biblical students and religious teachers readily fall, to confound the religion of the prophets with that of the people, and to speak with pride, pardonable it is true, of the glorious religion, revealed through Moses and the prophets and practiced by our fathers from the earliest Biblical times. Nothing is farther from the truth. The prophets, particularly the pre-exilic prophets, found few followers. The fate of Jeremiah was typical. Elijah alone was left as the worshiper of Jahwe. The people at large had given themselves heart and soul to Ba'al and Astarte. Amos and Hosea protested but in vain, against the Canaanitic elements in what was ostensibly the worship of Jahwe. Isaiah had a following and apparently accomplished something, but this was primarily because of the dominant political note in his message. Almost immediately after his death the people under Manasseh gave themselves more completely than ever not only to Ba'al and Astarte, but also to the new Babylonian deities. The reforms of Josiah seem to have been effective for a time, but with the conquest of the country by Nebuchadnezzar the reaction set in. The people saw at the time in the great national calamity all-sufficient evidence of the weakness of Jahwe, as opposed to the new gods, and of the anger and retribution of the latter because of the neglect of their worship. The picture of the return of the people to these gods in Jer. 44, 15-19 is characteristic.

In other words the religion of the prophets before the exile was the religion of only a small handful of individuals, in no sense the religion of the people at large. The true picture of the religious life and thought of Israel before the exile is that presented in Judges, Samuel and Kings. Even the Jahwistic and Elohist documents of the Hexateuch, recognizing, as they do, as matters of fact in the religion of Israel such characteristic features of the Canaanitic religion as *Masseboth*, *Bamoth*, etc., set forth but the state religion, as it were, as practiced and enforced by such kings as Asa, Jehosaphat and Hezekiah. But even under these kings, we read expressly, the *Bamoth* with their gross worship of Ba'al and Astarte flourished. Not until comparatively late in the exile did the people return wholly to the worship of Jahwe. But even this worship after the exile was, as we know, one of intense legalism and ritualism, as far removed from the religion of the pre-exilic prophets as the Canaanitic religion itself. The prophets were religious geniuses so im-

It is not necessary to trace, even in this summary fashion, the history of our religion during and after the exile. Enough has been said to show (1) that our religion did not begin, as recorded in the Bible, with a divine revelation to Abraham or to Moses, although historically these names, or the periods they represent, do perhaps mark epochs in its development; (2) that we can trace our religion back far beyond Moses and Abraham, back to its origin in the very grossest forms of polytheism and nature-worship; (3) that from this there was a long and continuous, although not at all equable, development or evolution, of which only a portion is recorded, and not always correctly, in the Bible, and finally (4) that there is absolutely no record, nor proof, nor reason to believe that any one moment, Sinai perhaps, or the exile, represents the culmination or cessation of this development, or that this development has ceased since the close of the Canon, or must ever cease or culminate and retrogression set in.

The important fact in all this, the positive contribution of Biblical Science to the knowledge and experience of mankind, is just this, that despite the written records of the past, despite the firm beliefs that men have cherished for thousands of years, until they came to seem almost axiomatic truths, despite all this, religion is not and has never been the result of a literal, momentary, divine revelation; God has never spoken to any man, as our Bible would have it, *Moshe Y'dabber v'Ho'elohim Ya'anennu bh'Kol*. Religion is the result of divine revelation, yes, but the only true divine revelation, where God speaks to the heart of every man, some through the Samuels, and some the Elis, some who hear, and some who are deaf, some the leaders and some the followers. Religion was never revealed in one moment and to one man, but is a long and continuous revelation, an evolution from the most primitive and crassest forms of belief and worship, through slowly-succeeding stages, on and on

measurably in advance of the standards and capabilities of their age and of succeeding ages that only to-day, in an absolutely literal, and in no wise boastful sense, have we come, through Reform Judaism, to appreciate the full significance of their teachings and ideals. Only to-day have the prophets of Israel found true followers; only to-day can we speak truly of the religion of the prophets.

to an ever truer, ever loftier, ever more all-embracing conception of God and worship and life and man; a steady evolution, the fullness of which is not yet, and will not be until this universe shall end.

This is the positive work of Biblical Science, this insistence that religion, and particularly our religion, has passed and is passing through a long evolution, and that the Bible records, not a momentary, divine revelation on Sinai, but a steadily growing knowledge of God and His law, a consistent growth of which the different documents of the Hexateuch, the different prophets, the different books of the Hagiographa, the writings of the different ages, record successive and necessary stages. The Bible is then the record of the religious development of a little people, our ancestors, a people with no aptitude for government, but with a tremendous, unequaled genius for religion, a people, despite appearances, literally God-filled and God-inspired, whose whole habit of thought was religious, and whose true history is the record of religious, rather than political evolution, a people which, because of this religious genius, first of all the world arrived at the knowledge of the one, true God, and was consequently chosen by Him to proclaim this knowledge to mankind. And the Bible is the record of its attempts to come close to God, to see Him face to face, to behold His glory and to learn His way; the record of its struggles, its failures and its successes, its advances and its backslidings; of its leaders and their inspired words, their sublime ideals, their hopes, labors and accomplishments; it is the record of ideals attained and truths realized; of greater ideals still to be attained, of loftier truths still to be striven for; it is the promise and the inspiration of still unknown ideals, of unsuspected truths, destined to become first the dreams of man, and then his possession and his heritage, as religion, thought, life, knowledge, continue to advance, as we continue the work of our fathers, the work for which we have truly, literally been chosen, and come nearer and ever nearer to God Himself.

The Bible is the record of fifteen centuries of Israel's religious development. This I have traced in a general way. But before continuing my thesis, I wish to illustrate this development by specific instances.

We have already spoken of child-sacrifice. Originally every first-born child as well as animal was sacrificed. A taboo was thought to rest upon both mother and child that could be removed only by the sacrifice of the latter. Evil was otherwise sure to result to both, probably to the father also, and even to the entire community. Certainly there would be no further offspring if this, the first, were not given back to the mother-goddess. These children were burnt alive. This was in the earliest times the universal custom, and certainly it rested upon no divine revelation.

But a growing civilization realized all the horror of this sacrifice and invented various means of evasion. One of the commonest, as well as most primitive, was circumcision. A part of the thing to be sacrificed was offered for the thing itself. This was the fundamental principle of taboo-sacrifice. And the part thus selected was not only one that could be easily dispensed with, a universal corollary of the principle just mentioned, but was closely related to that organ, for the blessing of whose functions the sacrifice was made, hence was in a way the most natural and proper substitute for the child itself.

Another means of evasion was by substitution. An animal, generally a yearling lamb, was sacrificed in place of and under the pretense that it was the child itself. (Ex. 13, 1, 11-13, ; 23, 28f; 34, 19f.) Originally this animal was burned precisely as the child would have been. But in time, through a further development, instead of the entire animal, only a small portion was burned, again in accord with the principle of taboo-sacrifice, and the remainder was given for food to the priests, the earthly representatives of the deity. (Num. 18, 17f.) The economic instinct, and not a divine revelation, lay at the bottom of this development.

Later, instead of thus sacrificing an animal to be in the main eaten by the priests, the father would give the value of the animal in money, with which the priests would purchase what they wished. (Num. 18, 15f.)

Another method of evading the original cruel custom was to consecrate the first born children as priests or servants of the deity.⁷

⁷ Cf. the consecration of the Levites as priests of Jahwe in place of the first-born of all Israel (Num. 3, 45ff).

By a further natural development that which was originally a subterfuge, a conscious attempt to deceive the deity, was in course of time sanctified by custom and regarded as the law, as the will of the deity. This stage of development we find in the Bible. The sacrifice of children is expressly forbidden; the substitution of an animal, and in later legislation the payment of redemption money, are commanded. Similarly in time the people forgot that the first-born was devoted to the service of the deity as an amelioration of an originally severer sacrifice. The dedication of the first-born was now regarded as optional with the parents, and as an evidence of their thankfulness for the deities' favors. Accordingly Hannah vows that if Jahwe gives her a child she will show her gratitude by consecrating him to the service of God. (I Sam. 1, 11.)

This shows, too, that naturally the original nature and purpose of these sacrifices and ceremonies were in time lost sight of. The people continued the ceremonies merely through the force of custom and superstition. Thus the practice of circumcision was continued long after its origin was forgotten. But in time a new import came to be attached to it. It became the sign of God's covenant with Israel. And now, as is invariably the case, its institution was ascribed to the great Hebrew eponym, Abraham. (Gen. 17, 10ff.) Such is the origin and development of our practice of circumcision, not the result of divine revelation, not introduced for hygienic purposes, but growing out of the grossest forms of phallic worship, and then developing slowly, as the mind of man developed, voicing an ever-higher thought, coming in time to symbolize God's very covenant with Israel. Thus even the lowest and grossest in life may in time, through the inevitable working of God's laws, come to speak of God Himself.

But this was not all. Naturally these ceremonies were not practiced indiscriminately. They formed an important part of the celebration of the great annual festivals. Here, too, the dances and promiscuous sacred cohabitation, already alluded to, were practiced, and wives were chosen. Here, too, the taboo-offerings of the crops and vintage were offered, at first burned, later, like the first-born lamb, given to the priests (Num. 18, 19; cf. II Ki. 4, 42). Such were the harvest-festivals of the Semitic world as practiced even

in Biblical times, and against the gross celebration of which an Amos and a Hosea protested. But in their beginnings these harvest-festivals were only secondarily, if at all, seasons of rejoicing. Primarily they were periods of solemnity, even of anxiety. Their purpose was again through their sympathetic magical rites to compel the success of the harvest or the fertility of the next year, to force the great parent-deities to bestow their blessings of abundance and plenteous increase. A rite illustrative of the purpose and nature of these festivals was that of pouring out water at the harvest-festival (Mishna Succah, 4, 9; 5, 1), a ceremony practiced by primitive peoples throughout the world in order to bring rain.⁸

In time, however, as men saw that in general the same natural phenomena recurred annually, that the crops came regularly, etc., and consequently began to appreciate the futility of these ceremonies, the festivals gradually changed, became seasons of true rejoicing and thankful worship. But if anything the license became all the greater. What before, although gross, was practiced in an intensely solemn and reverent spirit, was now continued, partly through custom and superstition, and partly because of the momentary, sensual pleasure of the dances and subsequent ceremonies.

It is needless to trace this process farther. It suffices that from these festivals our Pesach, Shabuoth and Succoth evolved. It was a long and slow development, several of the stages of which can be readily determined by the Biblical student. In the same way I might set forth the origins of our other feast and fast days, Rosh Hashona and Yom Kippur, Purim and Hanukah, Shibh'a 'Osor b'Tammuz and Tish 'a B'Ab. But this is sufficient to show that the Biblical version of the origin of these festivals in divine revelation Biblical Science proves untenable; that these festivals, too, originated in the lowest and grossest superstitions and ceremonies, and only evolved slowly through many centuries.

However, I wish to present the origin of one more holy day, the Sabbath, although here the evidence is not as complete as in connection with the other festivals. There is considerable evidence that to the early Semites the number seven was unlucky and taboo, rather

⁸ Cf. Frazer, "The Golden Bough,"² index.

than lucky and sacred. Accordingly everything to which the number seven applied, the seventh day, the seventh year, etc., were unlucky. Among the Babylonians every seventh day in the month, and particularly the seven times seventh day, i. e., the nineteenth day of every month, the forty-ninth from the beginning of the preceding month, was evil, unpropitious.⁹ Upon it all work was taboo; sure to result in evil. Similarly in all groups of seven, the mention of this number was carefully avoided. Of the seven evil spirits the names of no more than six were ever mentioned together, while of the group of gods known as "The Seven," eight names were always given. Similarly the tradition is recorded that there were seven nations of Canaan conquered by Israel, although with, I believe, only one exception, but six of these are ever mentioned together in the Bible.¹⁰

Here is the origin of the Sabbath. From the many references to the new moon and the Sabbath together in the Bible,¹¹ it seems most probable that the two were related; in other words, just as in Babylon, the Sabbath was reckoned from the new moon, the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first and twenty-eighth days of each month. These days were unpropitious, and so all work was carefully put aside. Furthermore from the use of the term Sabbath, synonymously with seven in the Holiness Code, Lev. 17-26, where also the taboo side of the Sabbath observance is particularly prominent, it is clear that its origin lay in the fact that it was primarily the seventh day, and consequently unlucky, and not primarily a day of rest. We know from the Bible itself that the Sabbath was originally a day of mere abstinence from work, particularly from one's usual occupation.¹² It consequently became in time the day for unusual enterprises, that in no sense smacked of work, such as consulting oracles or prophets, visiting local shrines, and paying vows and sacrifices.¹³ Thus a cer-

⁹ Cf. Zimmern in „Die Keilinschriften und das alte Testament", 592 ff.

¹⁰ Cf. My "Doctrine of Sin in the Babylonian Religion" (Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft, 1905, 3), 11 and 90 ff.

¹¹ II. Ki. 4, 23; Is. 1, 13; 66, 23; Ez. 46, 1 ff.; Hos. 2, 13; Am. 8, 5.

¹² Ex. 23, 12; 34, 21; Am. 8, 5.

¹³ II. Ki. 4, 23.

¹⁴ II. Ki. 11, 5 ff.; II. Chron. 23, 8.

tain religious significance was gradually attached to it. It became the day of changing the shew-bread, the shifts of priests,¹⁴ etc. From this it easily and naturally became the most sacred day of the religious calendar, and finally developed into our Sabbath. In no sense was it the result of divine revelation, nor yet of the principle that man ought to rest one day in seven.

Similarly the Sabbathical¹⁵ and the Jubilee years,¹⁶ the latter based on the principle of seven times seven, arose. It was the belief on the one hand, that any undertaking begun under the influence of the unlucky seven could not prosper, and on the other, that unless this principle were observed, it was useless to expect future blessings; future evil only could result. Thus our very Sabbath is also the outgrowth of a long evolution, from the very lowest and most degraded beginning.

But these have been almost entirely illustrations of the development of ceremonial. I might as well offer illustrations of the development of dogma and of the spirit of religion. I might point out that the greater part of the Bible knows nothing of future life; in fact actually denies this; that this dogma entered into Judaism at a comparatively late date, due in all probability chiefly to the influence of Platonic philosophy.¹⁷ And yet in a short time it became one of the most important dogmas of Judaism. This means growth, evolution of religion.

I might show how Ezekiel (18, 1-20) with his preachment of individual reward and punishment both contradicts and represents, at least according to our standards, an immeasurable advance upon the ethical and moral principles of the so-called second commandment (Ex. 20, 5; Deut. 5, 9). And certainly this if anything was traditionally *Torath Moshe Missinai*. Thus the Bible itself records that the religion developed, developed in spite of and contrary to what was certainly regarded as the divinely revealed word of God. These prophets, too, spoke the word of God.

Or I might point out the remarkable development in our idea of

¹⁵ Ex. 23, 10 f.; Lev. 25, 1-7.

¹⁶ Lev. 25, 8 ff.

¹⁷ Cf. Schwally, „Das Leben nach dem Tode.“

the Deity Himself, for instance from the primitive conception of a supernatural power embodied in a stone, a *massēba*, a belief certainly sanctioned by the oldest portions of Genesis,¹⁸ to the wonderful word, artificially put into Solomon's mouth by some late writer, "The heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain Thee" (I Ki. 8, 27). Or I might trace the slow development of our religion itself, from polytheism of the lowest and grossest type, through henotheism, the belief in and worship of one tribal or national deity, that admits at the same time the existence and power of other gods over their respective tribes or nations (cf. Deut. 4, 19f.), down to our own ethical monotheism.

But this is sufficient. The full import of the teachings of Biblical Science is clear. Judaism is not the result of a single divine revelation on Sinai, nor even of successive revelations to Moses and the Prophets after him. Judaism began long before Moses and Abraham, began with the birth of the Semitic race, and has developed into the Judaism of today, not suddenly and supernaturally, but in accord with the universal laws of God. And an Abraham, a Moses, a Samuel, an Isaiah, were but contributors to this development. But the evolution itself is greater far than any one, or than all, of these names. For it rests primarily upon the principle that God speaks ever to the heart of man, the only true, divine revelation, and mankind at large is greater far, and contributes far more to progress than any one individual. The Torah does not always, if ever, speak the final word; there is an evolution of the Torah itself recorded in the successive documents of the Hexateuch, and an Ezekiel did not hesitate to contradict in the name of God one of the fundamental articles of Sinaitic legislation.

I trust sincerely that I will not be misunderstood. It is not at all my purpose to discredit the Bible by admitting the fundamental principle of Biblical Science, that the Bible cannot be literally of divine origin, to belittle the history of the ancient Jewish nation by giving expression to the historical fact that politically Israel was a most dismal failure, to minimize the religious genius or merit of our fathers by showing that many of their and our most important

¹⁸ Gen. 28, 18, 22; 31, 13, 45, 51 f.; 35, 14, 20; Ex. 24, 4.

religious practices were of direct polytheistic origin, or to bolster up Reform Judaism by a questionable alliance with Biblical Science. Nothing is farther from my mind. I deem myself second to none in profound admiration and reverence for the wise, inspired and inspiring teachings of our Bible, in sincere respect for and pride in the glorious struggles, sacrifices and martyrdom of our fathers in the past and our brethren of today, in full appreciation of Israel's wonderful, unmatched religious genius, that turned the dross of whatever it touched, custom, ceremonial, myth and tradition, into the priceless gold of true, spiritual religion, in firm, unshakable belief in Israel's God and Israel's mission. And in this paper I hold no brief for Reform Judaism nor do I feel the need of defending it at the expense of the Bible, our political history, Orthodoxy or Zionism. Nor yet do I aim to present a history or systematic theology of Judaism, nor to account for such subjective phenomena as revelation, inspiration, etc. My only purpose is to present for your consideration certain historical facts in the life, and particularly in the religious life, of our ancestors, facts which have in part never been presented before, and which to me seem not only beyond question, but of prime import for the history of our sacred religion, and to which, as honest and truth-seeking men, we cannot and should not attempt to blind our eyes, and then, after presenting these facts, to state briefly and clearly, and I hope convincingly, what to me seems their actual significance for Reform Judaism.

Accordingly I wish to emphasize as the result of this discussion thus far not the negative fact, that the Bible or the Torah cannot be of a literally divine origin, but the positive message of Biblical Science, the actual, historical, incontrovertible fact, that Judaism is the result of a long process of evolution (written with a small *e*, so that the word may not be interpreted in its usual, bugabooo, dogmatic sense), of natural revelation, part and parcel of the development of human life, thought and culture; that this principle of evolution is not something foreign and inimical to Judaism, as a literal acceptance of the theory of divine revelation implies, but has been characteristic of Judaism from its very beginning, has been the heart and soul of Judaism, without which Judaism could never have been.

This matter is of supreme importance, for it is the sanction, the justification, nay more, it is the proof of the actual, historical necessity of Reform Judaism. Unless we are convinced of the validity, of the historical truth of this principle of evolution in Judaism, then Reform Judaism is not Judaism at all, is a mere ethical system, precisely like Ethical Culture, and the only true Judaism is that which clings firmly and unquestioningly to the literal interpretation and application of the laws of the Pentateuch, with all their internal contradictions, anachronisms and impossibilities. It is a *reductio ad absurdum*, if you wish, but none the less the dilemma it presents is both logical and true. Either we must accept this literal, Pentateuchal Judaism, or we must admit the historical existence, necessity and force of the principle of evolution in Judaism, and have thus a sane and logical basis for our Reform Judaism of today and the Reform Judaism of tomorrow. To base Reform upon the principle that the laws of the Pentateuch are in the main not applicable, and consequently not binding, today, is not only illogical; it is unconsciously dishonest. That which is divine, in the sense that we speak of the divine revelation of the Thorah, is eternal and must be as binding today as thirty-five hundred years ago. Reform Judaism or any religion cannot find its sanction in mere expediency, in the mere cant phrase, "This is what we want," or "It is the spirit of the times." We seek not to excuse, but to establish the logic and legitimacy of Reform. And this can be only when on the one hand we have disproved the theory of literal divine revelation, and on the other hand have established beyond question the principle of evolution in Judaism. The first step has long since been taken. The second, the positive step, the determination of the actual sanction and impelling force of Reform Judaism has been the invaluable contribution of Biblical Science. Reform Judaism is truly then Reform *Judaism*, is not Ethical Culture, is Judaism, as true as that of Moses or Ezra.

But a sanction alone for Reform Judaism is insufficient. A guiding principle is equally necessary. And this, too, Biblical Science furnishes. Since Judaism represents a long and consistent evolution, the last step of which thus far is our Reform Judaism, it fol-

lows that all present and all future Reform, all further evolution, must be in accord with the principles that have guided this evolution thus far, that in other words all Reform, all development, must be not merely Reform and development, but Jewish Reform, Jewish development.

This is despite appearances no platitude, but a plain statement of an unquestionable fact. All further development in Judaism must proceed in accordance with the principles that have guided it thus far; must be thoroughly Jewish, or else the result of this development must cease to be Judaism. And I believe that these principles can be determined and given concrete expression, as far as it is ever possible to determine and express concretely the principles underlying any great and complex movement. And though this be beyond the province of this paper, I will by way of illustration give what to me seems a fundamental principle.

Judaism has always accepted new truths, the realization of new laws of life, without hesitation and without reserve. It is, if you will, a characteristic of Jewish psychology, that it has always assimilated the best of that with which it has come in contact, has risen to the higher level, and made the new and the true its own. But while thus outgrowing old beliefs and assimilating new, Judaism has still retained its old forms and ceremonies, still clings to its circumcision, its Sabbath, its festivals, relics, though all be in their origin of a low and gross religion. But the emphasis was never entirely upon the form of these ceremonies, but upon the spirit. These ceremonies have developed, yes, but always because of and following the development of the thought and spirit of religion. They were made to speak ever new and sublimer truths, were ever but the language of this growing spirit. And just as we today speak the English of Shakespeare, though voicing thoughts and realities of which he never dreamed, so, too, did developing Judaism use the same old ceremonial language to voice its new thought and spirit. The gross origin of circumcision was forgotten, and it became the symbol of God's covenant with Israel; the festival of Shabuoth in time lost its licentious character, became the simple festival of joyous and reverent thanksgiving for the blessing of a

bounteous crop, and the traditional anniversary of the giving of the ten commandments, of the great consecration of Israel to God's service; has become for us to-day, through a perfectly logical and consistent evolution, this I wish to emphasize, the day of consecration of our children to God's service and to Israel's cause. It is the same old festival; the ceremonial language is the same, but it voices today a far sublimer spirit. This is legitimate evolution; this is true Reform Judaism.

Clearly then it is a gross fallacy, though alas, far too common, to reason that because a ceremony or dogma or book of the Bible or anything at all be of Babylonian or polytheistic or phallic origin, it has no value for us and should be discarded. As well find no pleasure in the beautiful butterfly because it was once a repulsive caterpillar. The sanction of any custom or belief lies not in its origin, nor even in its evolution, but in its significance today, in the holy message it may speak at the present moment. And our Sabbath and our festivals, gross though their origin was, voice for us, and therefore command observance, the sublimest truths that religion has as yet realized. And appreciating this we have determined one principle that has guided and must ever guide this great and wonderful evolution of Judaism.

But after all, and here is the sum of my argument, the truest means of determining these principles, the guide and text-book and source of inspiration of all evolution of Judaism, must be the Bible. For it is itself the record of fifteen centuries of this development, and of the most important and critical part thereof. It and it alone voices this spirit of evolution, the true Jewish spirit, unbiased and in all phases. It is the true record of Jewish life and Jewish thought, Jewish ideals and Jewish struggles, Jewish defeats and Jewish victories. If Biblical Science has done anything at all, it has reclaimed the Bible for Judaism, has freed it from all Christological interpretation and cant, and emphasized the fact that the Bible is Jewish through and through, is *our* book in the primary sense and ours alone. Biblical Science has brought the Bible, rightly understood, back to us, and should bring us back to our Bible, should bring us to read it, study it, know it in the true light, and

thus knowing it, to find guidance and inspiration for our God-given work. The noble spirit of the law, the inspiring teachings of the prophets, the sublime thought of the Hagiographa, all voice this spirit of Judaism, this ever-growing knowledge of God, and of the secret and purpose of existence. And that is the significance of the Bible for Reform Judaism in the light of modern scientific research, this is my thesis, that it is reclaimed for Judaism as the guide and inspiration, interpreting these words literally and in their fullest connotation, of all future progress.

And one more gift of Biblical Science to Judaism, a great gift arising out of the knowledge that Judaism is the result of a process of evolution, viz, the promise of the future, the realization that the whole of God's law and purpose has not yet been attained, that there is far more in the future than has been achieved in the past, that some day, in God's own time, the cloud in which, according to the Priestly tradition of the Hexateuch (cf. Ex. 24, 15 ff.), He revealed Himself to man, shall be torn away, and we shall be permitted to see Him face to face, to live in His presence with full knowledge of what life means, its purpose and possibilities. This is the true Messianic ideal, itself of polytheistic origin, yet today through the evolution of Judaism the grandest ideal of life yet conceived. And of this Messianic ideal and its attainment, Judaism alone of all religions, is capable, because it alone admits the validity of the principle of religious evolution. And this Messianic age, this promise of the future, of the mission and message of Judaism, Biblical Science proclaims more forcibly than any prophet of old.

Reform Judaism then has nothing to fear from Biblical Science. For more than anything else Biblical Science establishes the legitimacy and sanction of Reform Judaism, and points out the path it must pursue. And pursuing this path the goal shall surely be reached in God's own time, and the prophet's word be literally fulfilled, *Ki timmale' ha'areṣ lada'ath eth K'bhod Adonai kammayim y'hassu 'al yam*. "Then shall the earth be filled with the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea." (Hab. 2, 14.)

Rabbi Krass spoke as follows:

"Mr. President and Colleagues, Ladies and Gentlemen: Although I am not a Zionist, I was somewhat shocked when I heard a philistine-like outburst of Anti-Semitism in the form of enthusiastic applause that greeted the unpartisan, academic statement of my esteemed colleague, Rabbi Morgenstern, when he spoke of ancient Israel's ineptitude for self-government. I do not see why we should cut off our ancestral noses to spite our own faces. I do not understand why we should gloat and glory over any defect in the lives of our sainted forebears, because we happen to belong to a certain wing of anti-national tendencies.

In the second place, while I am not an apologist, I desire to state that inasmuch as I had very little time to peruse the learned paper of my colleague, I shall not attempt to discuss it in detail, but rather tackle what seems to me the main issue suggested by that paper. The distinctive feature of Reform Judaism is its direct antithesis to Orthodoxy. It does not matter how else you define it, it is just what Orthodoxy is not. Orthodoxy in the language of Sabbatier is the "Religion of Authority." And by authority is meant some tangible external authority, not a categorical imperative, but a code, a book, a doctrine, a law, an institution, all imperatively binding by virtue of their divine origin. "Thus spoke the Lord," and hence we must do it. Our Pentateuch and Prophets and Hagiographa are filled with commands that derive their coercive power by virtue of their putative or declared divine origin. A moral law and a law about wearing fringes were equally binding, not because of any intrinsic merit, but because God commanded them. Our remote ancestors already essayed a little higher criticism, though the label was not yet known in those days. They did not credit Moses with the composition of his own obituary. They declared that Job was not a living character, but a fictitious person. In the main, however, Orthodoxy accepted the Bible as the word of God and hence deemed it as inviolate religious authority. Reform Judaism, on the other hand, has philosophically and practically declared that the Bible is no longer a religious authority in the orthodox sense. Hence Biblical Criticism, of which my colleague has given such abundant illustra-

tion, ought not to be shocking to Reform Judaism, though it may be killing to Christianity. And right here, Colleagues, let me caution you against satisfying the epidemic, *Ictus orandi*. I am aware that many hypotheses and deductions presented in the paper are open to grave doubt and considerable disputation, but after all let us say in regard to them, "*Bishlomah*:" they are of secondary import. The origin of the "Milah" or "Sabbath" may be quite other than that given by the author of the paper under discussion, but all these topics, though they loom large as individual subjects, must be sunk in the larger, more general, far-reaching and important issue, namely, the attitude of Reform Judaism to the point of view and principles of Higher Criticism.

We can afford just now to ignore details, be they never so important, and confine ourselves to a clear, definite statement as to our philosophic position in that great and revolutionizing movement known as the Higher Criticism. In the main, Rabbi Morgenstern has brought out the irrefutable point that Biblical Criticism as a science has come to stay, though all its present findings may later be discredited. And likewise, Reform Judaism by virtue of its antagonism to Orthodoxy must assume an uncompromisingly favorable attitude to the conquering science. Reform Judaism has thrown off the chains of an external authority, such as Orthodoxy is governed by, and has declared itself to be a religion of the spirit in contradistinction. It is not a religion whose eternal principles are eternal because found in the Bible or elsewhere, but because they are intrinsically of eternal value.

No matter with what sacred or sentimental feelings the Reform Jew approaches the Bible he is an eclectic as far as its authority for him is concerned. He will not be governed by any code of laws or by any individual law that without juggling and misinterpretation, cannot harmonize with his modern ethical Weltanschauung. He may admire the literary beauty, the poetic fervor, the moral grandeur of the incomparable book, but he will not bow to its command if that command is in opposition to his view of life.

The "Thus Saith the Lord" passages inspire no obedience in him as they do in his orthodox brother, if not practically, at least theo-

retically. In the light of Biblical Criticism the Bible is binding for the Reform Jew only in so far as it is an inspiring source for his actions, only as from it he draws that sustenance that will give him renewed ethical vigor. Thus the Bible becomes for Reform Judaism in an inverted sense a fountain of inspiration. In it are countless corroborations of Reform Judaism's moral outlook. And only in this larger, more general and withal far nobler way can it be at all affirmed that the Bible has authoritative power for Reform Judaism.

There is another point I wish to emphasize. Whereas the Bible is not ours alone, although Israel has the first mortgage on it, Israel is bigger than its own Bible and for that reason, the Jew, like the Catholic, has less to fear from Higher Criticism than the Protestant. The Catholic Church says: "I am the living interpreter of the divine word." And likewise may Israel, the maker of the Bible, consistently and conscientiously say, "We Jews have the right to reinterpret the old Bible for our present needs, yea, hand down to posterity the same privileges, so that new sages and prophets may arise from time to time, giving new power and emphasis to that sacred heritage of Israel, and all the while remain loyal to the cause of Judaism, which is bigger than any of its sources, and link by the subtle, invisible, yet mighty chain, called variously, Jewish consciousness," Jewish Spirit," "Jewish Genius," the philosophies, crudities and crasser ideals and idealisms of the early Hebrews with the most refined and sublime religiosity of the latest generation."

And now for a few practical deductions from this subject of the value and relation of Biblical Criticism to Reform Judaism. Here we are treading on dangerous ground. We must be honest and fearless with ourselves and our congregations. Felix Adler in telling why he left the fold of Judaism said that he could not conscientiously pronounce when he took the scroll out of the ark, "This is the Torah which God gave to Moses." We may think that such a declaration is not inconsistent with our modern view of the Bible. We may utter those time-honored words, with a mental reservation or in a Pickwickian sense. We may have in mind a larger meaning, in which the customary concatenation of words loses its narrow significance and denotes not an act which we no longer believe literally

historical. But if our congregations, unlearned in the new criticism, hear us utter the traditional words, what do they believe we mean? Ask them and you will find that they understand the Torah to have been written by Moses, given in some inexplicable way by God. Why quibble about it? Why delude ourselves? How shall we deal with this and many other matters, specifically speaking, with the contents of our Union Prayer Book? The theology of the Union Prayer Book is sadly out of accord with the doctrines of Reform Judaism, and it seems to me that we, the Reform Jews, are carrying water on both shoulders. On the one hand, we are theoretically in sympathy with so-called Higher Criticism, though we by no means concur in all hypotheses presented, and on the other hand, we are avowedly orthodox and befuddled.

One other suggestion I wish to offer, viz: Do not preach Higher Criticism from your pulpits. Higher Criticism should be the subterranean foundation, as it were, inverted, the foundation which you carry in your brain, the foundation on which you will erect your superstructure of righteousness, your fortress of religion. But do not preach Biblical Criticism in an *academic* way to your congregations. They are not prepared for it and are shocked and their feelings wounded, their sensibilities hurt, whenever you tell them those things, which to you have philosophic value.

And finally one more important, practical suggestion, the relation of Biblical Criticism to our Sabbath schools. How are we to teach the Bible, not to our children in the earlier classes, but to those children who are not old enough to understand philosophy and not young enough to ask no questions? How can we bring to those children the real meaning of the Biblical stories and lessons? How can we explain to them the doctrine of revelation; how can we harmonize the modern Reform Jewish conception, based upon Biblical Criticism, with the immature and developing mind of the child in our Sabbath school? These are some of the questions which I submit for your serious consideration, for I veritably believe that not only in our Sabbath school, but also in our Union Prayer Book, in all our religious undertakings, the time has come when the Reform Jew in the light of his position and in the light of modern Biblical Criticism has to have a practical *modus vivendi*.

Rabbi Ettelson spoke as follows:

Mr. President and Colleagues: Like the previous speaker, I unfortunately did not get to see the paper under consideration until yesterday, and, in addition to this handicap, I have the disadvantage, as compared with him, of following rather than preceding in the discussion. And so, I fear that I shall be able to glean only a harvest of chaff. Let me hope that a stray sheaf may, by happy chance, reward me.

The thesis of the paper as specifically laid down by Dr. Morgenstern is as follows: "Granted that the Pentateuch or Bible is not the direct word and revelation of God, what significance has it for Reform Judaism?" This—the significance of the Bible for Reform Judaism in the light of modern scholarship—is what he sets himself to answer.

Accordingly, we should expect him, in the body of his dissertation, to indicate, whether as the result of the researches of Delitzsch, Marti, Duhm, Cheyne and others, the Bible is to be regarded simply as a literature, whose values are of the *past*, or, whether and in what way, although its traditional sanctity and authority be denied, we can still look to it as a light and life for the *present* and for the *future*. However, except for a paragraph towards the very end, the author of the paper does not touch upon this, which is the real and vital issue. Instead he devotes himself in the main to a presentation of the beliefs and ceremonies, which early Israel possessed in common with the Canaanites, and from which some of Judaism's distinctive rites and observances developed, and also to an exposition of the early history of the Israelitish people. His authorities here are comparative religion and history.

From this mass of facts, as reconstructed by the Higher Critics, Dr. Morgenstern draws certain general conclusions, which conclusions, in his opinion, go to support, albeit negatively, the contentions of Reform Judaism. I personally cannot help but feel that this support, if it be support, is bought at too great a cost. If the facts and conclusions are true, then, as men of intellectual integrity, we must accept them, however much they hurt; but it is asking too much of us that we should at the same time rejoice at the

hurt. It seems to me a very questionable reason for self-congratulation, whatever else it may be, if we have to strengthen our positions as Reform Jews at the expense of the Bible. And yet that is practically what the essayist's line of argument resolves itself into. His procedure, as I understand it, is this:

(1) Higher Biblical Criticism has proved for us that the religion of Israel has undergone an evolution; Reform Judaism justifies reform on the principle of Evolution; hence Higher Biblical Criticism is an ally of Reform Judaism.

(2) Higher Biblical Criticism shows that Israel, throughout its history, was a puny, petty state, with no political efficiency or military power; Reform Judaism (i. e. the anti-Zionistic wing) also scouts the pretensions of a new state in Palestine for the Jews and maintains that Zionism is contrary to Israel's real genius and destiny; hence again Higher Biblical Criticism is the ally of Reform Judaism.

(3) Higher Biblical Criticism proves that the Old Testament contains no Christological references; Reform Judaism (as all Judaism, indeed) also insists that the Christian conception of the Messiah has no Old Testament warrant; hence, once again, Higher Biblical Criticism proves itself the ally of Reform Judaism.

Let us examine each of these contentions separately.

First, as regards Evolution. All of us, of course, are agreed on the general proposition of growth and development in religion, as in all things. But, if the only account that Higher Biblical Criticism can give of Israel's religion is to trace its universal God-idea to the crudest polytheistic superstitions and its passion for righteousness, to the grossest phallic practices, then we have very little cause to welcome it with open arms "as a present help in time of trouble." Mark you, I say "*if that is all.*" Prof. Schechter may not have been altogether right when, with epigrammatic cleverness, he said that "Higher Criticism was Higher anti-Semitism." But it is undoubtedly true that some of the higher critics are anti-Semites. The very avidity with which they pounce on every point that seems to hint at a possible Babylonian, Egyptian, Kenite or any but a Hebraic origin of the constituents of Hebraic culture, bespeaks rather the

animus of prejudice than the zeal of scholarship. Now, as a matter of fact, these primitive facts and forces do not explain Judaism. They represent the original Semitism, the very cult against which Hebraism, in contradistinction, struggled so persistently and over which Hebrew Prophetism at length triumphed, transforming in its victory the very strongholds of Ba'al into a citadel of Jahweh. Hebraism as opposed to Semitism—that is the correct antithesis, and in this sense Dr. Hirsch speaks with profound truth, when he says that Hebraism, as such, is the very *first* anti-Semitism.

But we may go further still. We may even concede that the crude beliefs and gross superstitions themselves were the original sources of many of our accepted symbols, beliefs and practices. This, in no way, invalidates the claims of the latter—nay, it gives, on the contrary, a new value to the former, for we now know that we can understand the lower only through the higher, not the higher through the lower. In the real doctrine of Evolution the *last* explains the *first*, and not vice versa. The very illustration that Dr. Morgestern used, in describing the change of some coarse rites into hallowed ceremonies, should have suggested to him the fact that at bottom "*Evolution* presupposes *Involution*." He spoke of the caterpillar and the butterfly. Now, if the caterpillar did not in itself already contain the potentialities of a butterfly it could not become a butterfly at all. Similarly in the very perversions and superstitions of early beliefs there must have been some latent spiritual impulse, some inherent upward reaching, some "groping above it for light, that climbs to a soul," finally. Otherwise, no evolution from them to something higher could have resulted. You cannot get from something *explicitly* what was not there already *implicitly*. Any other explanation is purely a prestidigitator's trick. They, the primitive cults are, as it were, the roots deep down in the *dark earth*; the finer and fuller faiths are as the leaves and flowers and fruits that grow from them, *heavenward*. This, it seems to me, the author of the paper did not altogether grasp or at least did not sufficiently emphasize. He gave me the impression, perhaps wrongly, of believing in the Naturalistic standpoint altogether. His treatment tended to level the higher down to the lower, instead of lifting the lower towards the higher.

With regard, now, to the second proposition, viz, the pitiful political weakness of the Israelites. Let him, who will, draw what satisfaction he may from this fact. I feel like the previous speaker that the applause that greeted this point in the paper was out of place. Whatever our individual attitude may be towards the Herzl or Zangwill programme, we certainly should not allow our anti-Zionism to make even one of us greet, as a fine sentiment, the statement that our ancestors never had, nor could their descendants ever have, capacity as an independent nation. Even if such crowing were becoming it would still be a question whether it is not a little premature. For, granting fully that Israel in history never stood out politically, it does not follow either that the state *was* or *is* a negligible factor in the religious development and destiny of Israel. In one place in his paper Dr. Morgenstern states that only the smallest minority of the Jewish exiles returned from Babylonia, and this fact he uses as an indication that it is not necessary that Israel have a separate national existence. Now, as a matter of fact, it was from these very few, who did come back to Palestine and who formed the Second Jewish Commonwealth, that the finer and fuller development of Judaism flowered. I am not arguing either for or against Zionism. I do insist though that we must not draw any delusive comfort for our anti-Zionism from the fact that Higher Biblical Criticism goes to prove that we were never, even in the palmiest days, more than a petty state. It may or may not be that Judaism can now dispense with organization as a nation and the possession of a land. But it cannot be denied that, unless there had been an Israelitish state to begin with and a second Jewish Commonwealth to follow, it is hardly likely that the Chosen People could have developed, through a Holy Nation, into a **נַחֲמַת יִשְׂרָאֵל** or Community of Israel.

We come now to the third and last proposition of the paper, the fact, viz, that Higher Biblical Criticism restores to us the Old Testament as our very own. It is true that modern scholarship proves that the Christological references read into our Bible are wholly unwarranted. That is, of course, a gain; but it is only a negative one at best, for it does not make the essential claims of Christianity

any less valid even to the Higher Critic himself. We ourselves have on the whole today a different conception of the Messiah from that either of the Bible or the Talmud. Yet we count ours, none the less, a legitimate development. By the same line of reasoning, by which we justify our interpretation as a natural unfolding from the Old Testament, the Christian theologian can justify his New Testament interpretation. Read, for example, the commentary on Deutero-Isaiah in the Cambridge edition. Prof. Skinner is the author, and he plants himself firmly on the standpoint of modern scholarship. And yet, accepting as he does the conclusions of Higher Biblical Criticism, he is, nevertheless, able to take the famous "Servant of the Lord" passages and give them an ultimate Christological application. He frankly admits, nay, gives all the arguments necessary to prove that the *prophet himself* meant by the "Servant" none other than the *people* Israel, the Ideal nation, personified, through the heightened imagination of the seer, as an individual. But, so Skinner goes on, *in effect*, to say: The artist builded *better* than he knew; there were implications in the prophet's words larger than the prophet himself realized; in ways undreamed of and un hoped for by the second Isaiah, the spiritual development of history, under God, found the grand fulfillment of his ideal, not in the *nation* Israel, but in the person of the man of Nazareth. It is no answer to this form of the argument to say that, by the Higher Critic's own confession, the Old Testament never had Jesus in mind. Of course it didn't; but neither did it have in mind many conceptions, into which we ourselves, on the justification of progress, have put a different content and intent from that originally contemplated by the Bible. Inasmuch as we use this principle ourselves as valid, we cannot object to its use by advanced Christian theologians for their own conclusions. It does not seem to me so sure, therefore, that Higher Biblical Criticism *necessarily* gives us back the Bible as our very own.

In all that I have said above there was no intention to call into question Higher Biblical Criticism as a method. Higher Biblical Criticism means simply applying to the study and understanding and estimate of the Bible the canons of literary and historical science, by

which alone we can test the place and purport of any document. Whatever is intrinsically true and good need apprehend no lessening of its value from the most searching investigation or from the strictest criterions. No! it is not to Higher Criticism, as such, that I have objected, but to certain deductions from it. It needs no praise of mine to call attention to the knowledge and scholarship displayed in Dr. Morgenstern's paper, for its erudition speaks from every page. I did feel impelled, however, to take issue with what I thought was the tendency of his conclusions, which conclusions, as I said at the outset, seemed to welcome as a support of our position as Reform Jews what, at the bottom, was a depreciation of the Bible. We need therefore to have pointed out to us (and this is what I missed in the paper) the positive significance of the Bible, to us, now that Higher Criticism is having its say. Our duty, I take it, is to show from pulpit and in classroom that we can accept the fundamental principles of Biblical science, and, at the same time, find in our Bible something infinitely more than a mere outgrown stage in the development of Judaism. Dr. Hirsch rightly says (see his discourse on "Judaism and the Higher Criticism," p. 15) "Criticism merely indicates the process of the revelation, but cannot reach into the field of revelation itself. *That* Israel came into the possession of the Truth is a fact of revelation; *how* it came into possession of it is the story which Higher Criticism aims to tell." The question of authorship and origin does not affect what is true in the ethical or religious ideals or inspirational power of Psalmist or Prophet. Tested indeed by all the canons of criticism, the Bible remains *the* Bible still, and is shown to be no less a divine revelation because it is also seen to be so intensely a human revelation.

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CONFERENCE SERMON.

By RABBI WILLIAM ROSENAU, PH. D., Baltimore, Md.

WHAT OF THE PROMISE?

When we shall disperse after our convention and return to our respective homes we hope to carry away suggestions which shall help us to solve our common problems. One of these problems I shall undertake to discuss in my sermon today. My text is: והרבה ארבה את זרעך ככוכבי השמים וכחול אשר על שפת הים "I will multiply thy seed as the stars of the firmament and as the sand which is upon the shore of the sea." (Gen. 22:17).

These words are reported to have been addressed by God to the patriarch. What a glorious promise! How the heart of Abraham must have throbbed with joy! Think of it! A small tribe was said to become as countless as the stars in the firmament and as the grains of sand on the seashore!

It seems that already in grayest antiquity people believed in the safety of numbers. Majorities were invested with prestige, influence and majesty to which a hopeless minority could never attain.

But what of the promise? Has it been fulfilled? Not yet! In the centuries which make up Israel's past two powerful factors militated against its fulfillment. The one was prohibition of conversion to Judaism among non-Jews; the other the persecution of our fathers at the hands of Islam and Christianity. Nor do we see signs of its speedy fulfillment now, that the Jew is permitted to preach his truths unmolested and that the ever-broadening culture of society is making inhuman measures mere memories.

I doubt whether there is a Jew, though he be ever so zealous, who laments that Israel does not consist of countless millions. לא בחיל ולא בכח כי אם ברוחי אמר יהוה צבאות "Not by might, nor by power, but by My spirit says the Lord of hosts." (Zach. 4:6).

is conviction, which from age to age is finding its way deeper and deeper into Israel's consciousness.

The fact of the matter is that the prediction regarding Abraham's descendants was never intended to be taken literally. The Rabbis of yore already interpreted the Scriptural promise to purport, that, if Israel, Abraham's posterity, would remain true to its God, it would rise in prominence as high as are the stars; while, on the other hand, if Israel becomes faithless to its historic purpose, it would sink as low as are the sands of the sea.

To attain to such prominence and to escape ingloriousness not only was and is, but also should be our ambition. That, which of necessity, therefore, gives us deep concern and evokes our keen regret, is the gross defection from Synagogue and Synagogal interests on the part of many born in our faith. Fortunately this defection is not the result of apostasy, but the effect of that religious apathy, which is nowadays characteristic of Jews and non-Jews alike.

What should be done to religionize the non-religious, to re-Judaize those who stand aloof from the Synagogue, and to help bring about the fulfillment of our ancient promise? Is this not the query every one of us has put to himself time and time again? And it is the query to the consideration of which I invite your attention today.

In order to present to you my very modest thoughts on the problem just propounded, I would have you review with me a Scriptural narrative. Whether the narrative be regarded by you as legend or history, its service as key to the prevailing religious situation will soon be recognized, especially if you bear in mind the Rabbinical saying: *אין משיבין על הדרוש* "We cannot object to homilectical license."

We are told, that as a reward for her uniform hospitality to the prophet Elisha, his hostess was given a son. There was joy in a long childless home. The parents doted on their boy. They watched him tenderly. In him they put their every hope. One day, after he was sufficiently grown, he ventured by himself among the reapers in his father's field. Who knows but what he was poorly fortified against the dangers to which he was exposed? He took sick, ex-

claiming, "My head, my head," and swooned. The order was at once given that he be taken to his mother where, despite her faithful nursing, the boy died. Whither were they now to turn? It was determined to seek the help of Elisha in order that he might bring the boy back to life. Elisha at first sends his servant, Gehazi, with instruction to place the prophet's staff upon the boy's face. Gehazi did as commanded, but without the wished for result. Finally the prophet himself came and embraced the boy, placing his own mouth upon the boy's mouth, his eyes upon the boy's eyes, and his hands upon the boy's hands. The boy soon awoke and his mother was summoned. On beholding the work of the prophet happiness instead of grief took possession of the woman and she prostrated herself forthwith in deep-felt gratitude to God, because her beloved son was rescued from the grave.

Do you not, as you proceed from incident to incident in this story, feel yourselves confronted by the many details of our problem in their regular succession? Do you not recognize in Shunem, the boy, the reapers, the mother, Gehazi and Elisha, either types or symbols?

The Synagogue, like Shunem, depends for its perpetuity upon the possession of loyal constituents. What the inhabitants are to a town or city, followers are to a faith. Judaism must needs disappear, unless the generation now active in our religious matters can look upon the generation gradually coming to the fore as its worthy successor in the maintenance of Israel's cause. So long as our boys and girls are under parental authority, direction and care there is no need of fear as to their future allegiance. Home, religious schools and house of worship, the holy atmosphere of which they are made to breathe, all exercise healthful and helpful influence in the development of Jewishness. But boys and girls do not, cannot and should not court their parents' companionship and seek their parents' guidance all through life. There comes a time when they, like the boy in the Biblical episode, go out **אל הקצרים** "Unto the reapers" (2 K. 4:9). Some seek the college to store away knowledge. Others go to the shop or office in order to make a living. They are not long among the reapers when the ill-effects of complete in-

dependence begin to show themselves. Unlike the more mature religiously—as for example, many a one's father who, too, is in the field—many of our young men and women lose their religious equilibrium and may justly exclaim: ראשי ראשי “My head, my head.” (ibid. 20), as did the boy in our Biblical account. They grow religiously indifferent. They take no interest in Jewish movements. They do not foster Jewish ideals. They do not observe Sabbaths and holidays. They do not affiliate with congregations. This defection has manifested itself not only here in America, where Reform is so often unjustly made to bear the blame for everything that is awry in Jewry, but also in European centres of conservatism. In England, only recently, Prof. Dr. Gollancz referred to the prevailing defection in a sermon on “Religious Neglect and Apostasy,” while on the Continent the minor key is struck in season and out of season by many a preacher.

It is not logical and historical Reform that is at fault, but the lack of that proper religious equipment required by us in the face of a materialistic economic status.

As we contemplate conditions our interest in the indifferent and in the faith of our fathers makes us eager to bring about a regeneration. From some of us comes the suggestion: שאתו אל אמו “Carry the religiously dead to the mother” (ibid.). Let the indifferent be restimulated by the inspiration emanating from those home ceremonies of which the mother in Israel was ever the promoter and preserver. Who knows—it is contended—but what the disloyal may again become devout, as they are made to feel the magic charm of Kiddush and Habadalah, of Seder and Succah, of Hanukah Tapers, Sheloach Manoth, and a host of other institutions?

Although I shall never cease advocating the need of ceremonies in the work of religion and unhesitatingly acknowledge the upliftment of which those just specified may be productive, I question whether their introduction and practice will achieve the desired resuscitation. We should not forget that many of the Jewish ceremonies may no longer appeal to the Jewish young men and women in our particular environment. Because a ceremony is old and furnishes inspiration to you and me is no reason why it should fascinate all of our young

men and women alike. The ailment, to which the rising generation has fallen heir, cannot be dispelled by the treatment of symptoms. It calls for the heroic excision of the root of the evil. Neglect the root and you find that *על ברכיה ער הצהרים וימת* although the rising generation receives the constant attention of the mother with her home institutions, it will nevertheless die. (ibid. 20.)

But if the mother with the means at her command fails, whither should we turn? To the prophet, as in the case described by Scriptures! The prophet whose part in our problem is enacted by our holy faith! In the desire to avail ourselves of the assistance of our faith, let us be on our guard against the use of the ineffective substitute. The belief is general, that, if the accessories of the house of worship are made attractive, the callous will become enthusiastic. Therefore, it is, that efforts are put forward to furnish at Synagogues a colorless service to satisfy the most liberal, classical music to please the most critical, and sermons on all imaginable themes 'twixt heaven and earth to win the favor of the most fastidious. Study classes of every description, lectures of every kind, and entertainments of every form, too, are supplied. As you ponder on these oft-introduced features, ask yourselves to what extent they benefit Israel's cause. They do not stir the Jewish soul. They do not make better Jews and Jewesses. They do not succeed in the preservation of our heritage. Their failure to regenerate must remind you of the failure of Gehazi, Elisha's servant, who, after trying his hand at the revival of the boy in the Biblical narrative confessed: *לא הקיץ הנער* "The child did not awake." (Ibid. 31).

How very different, however, are the results achieved by the genuine religion with its wondrous powers! The genuine religion I have in mind is Judaism. In its possibilities, method and character it reminds us of the prophet as he was known among our classic people. Like the prophet, Judaism can revive. Like the prophet, it works naturally. Like the prophet, it transmits the law. Like the prophet, it sponsors knowledge. Like the prophet, it promotes ideals. It is not a scheme of salvation which may be suddenly adopted, but a discipline demanding gradual mastery. The Jew ever held: *לא עם הארץ הסיר* "That ignorance and piety are incom-

patible." The Jewish thinker is yet to be born who does not know, that, in the proportion in which Israel devotes itself to the study of its faith, in that same proportion Israel will prove a power for good. Thus alone are to be explained such a saying as: **אין מבטלין תינוקות** "Instruction should not be interrupted, even for the sake of the building of a house of God." (Sab. 119. b.), and the uniform practice of the Jews of the past to connect with the Synagogue the "Beth-Hammedrash."

There is no denying the statement that the ignorance among us with regard to all that Judaism is and stands for is astounding. Under such sorry conditions, what else can we look for but spiritual death? Can we hope for any Jewish self-respect, regard for Jewish institutions and reverence for Jewish traditions, without first imparting a knowledge of their origin, development and purpose? The Torah to me seems to state the law of Israel's survival when, after dwelling on the duty of teaching the law to children, it concludes the section with the words: **למען ירבו ימיכם וימי בניכם על הארמה אשר נשבע יהוה לאבותיכם לתת להם כימי השמים על הארץ** "in order that your days and the days of your children may be many upon the earth which the Lord has sworn to give to your fathers as long as the heavens are upon the earth." (Dt. 11:21). The rising generation is apparently dead. As we approach Judaism—the old prophet—and tell it, that young Israel has exclaimed: **ראשי ראשי** "My head, my head," the counsel it gives, after scanning its own career, may be put in the telling rabinnical epigram: **חש בראשו יעזק בתורה** "He that suffers pains in his head should devote himself to researches in the law." This significant advice deserves our careful consideration and faithful execution. The Hebrew language, our Bible, our history and our various problems need to be studied with zeal once more by young Israel. Our neglect of these redounds to our shame and not to our credit. It has so often given the impression that we are descendants of Esau rather than of Jacob, because, not having risen to the appreciation of our life-giving birthright, we have unfortunately sold it to others. The great bulk of Jewish knowledge is at the present time, as you full well know, being cultivated by others than Jews. Let Judaism with its many-sided knowledge

once more come and warm the cold heart and soul of our young men and women with the warmth of its teachings, as Elisha warmed the cold child of the Shunemite, and the Jewish consciousness will again be aroused within them. Then surely it will be possible for us to say also of our rising generation: ויפקח הנער את עיניו "Every youth has opened his eyes" (Ibid. 35), to the glory of his heritage and the glory of his responsibility.

Thank Heaven the first serious efforts along distinct Jewish educational lines are being made among us. Among these I would include Bible classes, Jewish current topic clubs, the Jewish Chautauqua, the Jewish Publication Society, the Graetz College and the prospective Dropsie Institute. The efforts are, however, not commensurate with the needs. Let the work, therefore, continue in earnestness. Let it expand in extent and magnitude. Pronounced as is the struggle of existence among modern creeds, we dare not miss opportunities productive of reinforcement and rehabilitation. Let everyone in a position of leadership say: למען ציון לא אחשה ולמען ירושלים לא אשקוט עד יצא כננה צדקה וישועתה כלפיך יבער "For Zion's sake will I not hold my peace, and for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest, until the righteousness thereof go forth as brightness, and the salvation thereof as a lamp that burneth." (Is. 62:1).

Ours should be the aim to resuscitate the whole of young Israel. The way—the only way—looking to this end has been indicated. Having espoused this aim with heart and soul we shall also achieve it. The call: שאי בנך "Take up thy son" (2 K. 4:37), shall thus eventually be heard by us, as it was heard by the Shunemite. Before our Maker we shall be prepared to prostrate ourselves in thankfulness. According to its rabinnical interpretation, God's promise to Abraham shall yet be fulfilled. The Synagogue will once more be able to boast of loyal sons and daughters. Youth will once more bear arms in Israel's hosts and fight for Israel's cause. The glory of the descendants of Abraham shall not only remain undimmed, but grow in radiance and direct humanity ever nearer to God. Amen.

F

THE IDEAL AND THE PRACTICAL IN THE
RABBI'S LIFE.

By RABBI WILLIAM H. GREENBURG, PH. D., Dallas, Texas.

Dear Colleagues—I deem it a privilege to be given the opportunity of giving you, the leaders and teachers of American Jewry, the message of my heart, and it is my fervent hope that my words may find a responsive chord in your own hearts. To me there is nothing more stimulating and inspiring than the association and friendly intercourse with my comrades and colleagues of the American Rabbinate. We all need the kindly words of encouragement, yes, everybody, in all walks of life, but there is no one that needs such words more than the earnest Rabbi. For the man of sincerity and deep feeling cannot look upon his professional life as a mere flat surface of immediate duty, without any perspective, but ever refreshed with a new hope, in spite of disappointments, and ever discovering a new horizon, in spite of dismal failures, he will need, forsooth, an endurance so strong and an energy so indomitable, that were it not for these occasional conferences by which our hearts are strengthened and our minds invigorated, we might fall by the wayside and be converted from the most radiant optimism to the darkest pessimism.

The Rabbi's life in the larger cities is by no means a sinecure, in spite of the contrary opinion of many a layman. His work will lead him into the highways and byways of life. He will be called upon, on innumerable occasions, to participate in various communal and civic functions, so much so that he will almost despair of finding time for requisite solitude and study, without which his life will surely be reduced to a life of "dull mechanic exercise." Realizing the very practical affairs of life in which the Rabbi necessarily becomes involved, and realizing, too, the dangerous influence they may exercise upon the finer qualities of his character, dangerous inasmuch as the highest aim and ambition of his heart may become blurred, the subject of the ideal and the practical in the Rabbi's

life suggested itself to me as a subject worthy of our consideration and deepest thought. And while we are spending a few days in the midst of such intensely beautiful surroundings, where the very majesty of God seems to proclaim itself in sky and water and hill and valley, I think of the uplifting words of the sweet singer of Israel, **אִשָּׁא עֵינֵי אֶל הַהָרִים** "I lift up mine eyes to the hills, whence cometh my help," as representative of the ideal, and the words **אֵת אַחֵי אֲנֹכִי מִבָּקֶשׁ** "Behold, I seek my brethren," as representative of the practical.

The Rabbi's first and last care must be the cause of his own people. He must be a specialist in Jewish affairs, and not a mere dabbling dilettante who occasionally refers to Judaism, but who is so pronouncedly and aggressively liberal, that he has liberalized every beautiful Jewish ceremony off the face of the earth. If we possess a positive knowledge and a clear vision as to the many imperative duties devolving upon us, we shall come to the inevitable conclusion that our deepest concern must surely be, the exposition of Jewish life and literature, with all its beauty and pathos. We must have a clear idea of the religious, social and economic tendencies of the present time, and interpret them in such a way as to become an inspiration and a powerful stimulus to the Jewish people, thereby converting them into active workers in the cause that is dear to our hearts; and then, by united effort, to work through present conditions into higher ones. But to understand Jewish life in all its innumerable phases we must be deep students of human nature, whereby we may acquire not only an understanding, but a sympathetic understanding, of the causes and effects as they have followed each other in quick succession throughout the amazing career of the Jewish people. The remarkable effect and influence of persecution; of the Talmud, with its pearls of wisdom curiously blended with its sophistry and casuistry; of the Cabbala, with its mysticism; of the Ghetto; of the culture movement of the eighteenth century, etc., the influence exerted by these all-important features, not only upon the future history, but upon the very character of the Jewish people, cannot possibly be understood, unless we bring with us a sympathy, that will make its pages

significant with meaning, and unless we study the spirit of its history and philosophy. The religion of the Jew, inseparably interwoven as it is with his history, and which it is the specific purpose of the Rabbi to interpret and elucidate, is a religion of the most uplifting moral and philosophic ideals,—ideals that have taught the world a luminous theory of life and given to man the heroic quality. No man, however, can enter into the underlying spirit and idealism of any life, much less the life of an entire people, unless the ideal means something more than a beautiful sounding word. How can we fully conceive the awful misgivings, the despair, the bitterness, that come to some men, whose lives have been dominated by the highest ambitions, and who have fought, failed and fallen in the strife, if we ourselves have never cherished ideals. True, some of us wish we were of a more practical turn of mind,—business men, in a certain sense,—but I am inclined to believe that it were far better to err rather on the side of the ideal, than risk the danger of becoming the mere cold, calculating men into which many of us are fast being converted.

אחזי אנכי מבקש Let us seek our brethren, for that is assuredly our plain duty, but while we are engaged in the midst of the most prosaic affairs of our daily life, let us lift up our eyes to the hills, whence cometh our help, and our hearts will be strengthened, our souls refreshed. Look to the everlasting hills, emblematic of the eternal verities of life, and we shall be lifted from the sordid to the sublime. Our task as religious teachers is not, as some one has said, to hold ourselves as adjuncts of the undertaker and the companions of the wedding caterer, but rather to evoke from the heart of the layman the mysterious depths of his own personality, to appeal to the highest and best instincts. And why? In order to make so much the better Jew of him, and for no other reason. But how can we do it? By impressing them with the old, beautiful and glorious Jewish ideals.

זכר ימות עולם בינו שנות דר ודר “Remember the days of old, the years of many generations,” aye, the old Jewish ideals, centered in the home, the family life, the Sabbath, the mission and destiny of the Jew—these, the flower and fragrance of Jewish life. No

more illustrious examples of the true function of the modern Rabbi can be furnished than the ministers of old; for these men, though eminently practical men of affairs, never permitted themselves to lose sight of the ideal. They kept the fires of Judaism at white heat and gave it the strength to diffuse its light and warmth and inspire the people with faith and courage. They filled the people with love and veneration for their books, and so kept alive the ardor for learning. Yes, these old Rabbis made learning respected and admired. This reverence for learning naturally created a reverence for the individual possessing it, and gave him not only power and influence, but made him a natural leader of the people. The ideal embodied in the old Rabbinical saying *מורה רבך כמורה שמים* "The reverence shown to one's teacher should be as great as the reverence of God Himself," became the truest reality. Science has been called "the word of God written in nature." The ideal I would call the Word of God written on the mind and heart of man. The ideal must be almost a principle in the Rabbi's life, if he is anxious to exert the right kind of influence over his congregation, for our task is not ended when we have preached our sermons, be they never so eloquent, never so interesting. Our self-imposed task should be to transform our congregations, and it will not be found to be a superfluous task, for most of them, even the best, surely need it. To bring the wavering into the fold is our function, and when I say this, I do not mean necessarily and primarily to make them contributing members of our temples, but rather to create in them the desire to attend the house of God. Ours is the task of strengthening the weak, fortifying the strong, to bring into line and to stimulate the religious thought of those who are supposed to be so educated and so cultured, that religion has been looked upon from the lofty pedestals upon which they have placed themselves, as an "amiable weakness." Just as the so-called cold discoveries and facts of science need just the spirit of religion, the divine life principle, the warmth of God's breath, to make these facts live before our eyes, in like manner does the practical side of a Rabbi's life need the beautiful blending of the ideal to give it completion. Again, just as there is and

must be, according to the best thinkers, and even according to the greatest of the scientists, a harmonious combination of matter and spirit, and just as the one cannot truly exist without the other and be classed among the great truths of the world, in like manner the everlasting presence of the ideal and spiritual, blended in harmonious proportion in the practical life of the Rabbi, must, forsooth, give it a deeper meaning and invest it with an influence for good that is far-reaching. His ministrations will thereby exert a subtle persuasive power over his congregation that will lend an inspiration to both pulpit and pew, and give to both an ever fuller realization of the divine purposes of human life and the higher moral law of human existence.

Be it remembered, too, that the ideal is inclusive of the highest sentiment, a trait inherently associated with Jewish life. Such sentiment, for example, will urge us to view the Ark and its sacred contents as an object worthy of the Jew's reverence, a sentiment strongly cherished, with two or three exceptions, by every Rabbi in both hemispheres, and I am led to the belief that whenever the time comes when the Ark, once the Jew's "rarest wealth and preservative," ceases to be the object of the Jew's reverence, he will surely bring upon himself the deserved contempt of the non-Jewish world, that respects us only when we respect ourselves.

Liberalism is the key-note of modern times, the pride of the century, and the American Rabbinate is by no means found wanting in this regard, but just as heartily and sincerely as we can advocate a liberalism that is upbuilding, like that of Geiger, Zunz, Einhorn, and our beloved pioneer of American reform, Isaac M. Wise, of blessed memory, a liberalism with a profound reverence for the rich, ethical and spiritual legacy of the ages, in like manner should we condemn, with all the strength of which we are capable, that kind of liberalism that runs amuck and destroys everything, the sacred as well as the profane. My colleagues, in an age when everything is being reduced to terms of materialism and the standard of the money market, and when, as one of our colleagues has cleverly said, in effect, that Jewish spirituality has become "pathetically classic," the cry should go forth over the land for Spiritual

Leadership. It seems to me there is a great need for men who are not only practical, men dominated by the great power of conviction and sincerity, but withal spiritual-minded men, men stimulated and thrilled with beautiful ideals, men who can hear the still, small voice that rises and calls to them from the depths of nature, from the confused voices of their life, bidding them lift up their eyes to the hills, and then to seek their brethren, uplifting them, inspiring them with their exalted ideas,—the loving preservation of the old Jewish ideals. Thank God, we can point with pride to many such men among our number, but we need more of them that will enrich men's souls as well as their minds. Let us not forget that ours is not necessarily the task of storing the minds of our respective communities with exact scientific knowledge, for we are thereby usurping the function of the professor, but rather the endeavor to develop the moral sense, to implant positive Jewish convictions in the heart, to arouse religious enthusiasm, to expand their interests, widen their sympathies, and to impress upon each individual the noblest Jewish virtues. It is to create a pride, and by this I do not mean an arrogance of demeanor often noticeable in the newly-rich, but a justifiable pride born of a consciousness of the wonderful grandeur of the Jew's past and the glowing possibilities of his future.

One of my long-cherished ideals, as a Jewish minister, is to develop the highest possible type of Jew in our midst, and to multiply that type; and I care not how infinitesimal my work in this direction may be, it is a source of the deepest satisfaction and joy to know that my efforts have not been in vain. True, we cannot hope to remodel the old, who have practically lived their lives, for the hope of the future lies in the lap of the young. It is to the young men and women that I would make my most earnest appeal. My aspirations lie in quickening their hearts with fire and zeal for the uplifting of the name of Jew in our own eyes, and then in the eyes of the world. But what is the highest type of Jew, you ask? My answer is, the man whose life and thought is influenced by a strong reverence for his past and the self-sacrificing spirit that animated his heroic ancestors; the man who is not a weakling,

afraid of the power of majorities, and significantly but contemptuously silent, when he ought to raise his voice on high, to right a wrong done his race, by word or deed. The highest type of Jew is the man who is assertive of his Jewish origin and distinctly proud of it, because he feels it his right and privilege. What is the highest type of Jew, you ask? The man who has taken the trouble and grasped the opportunity of familiarizing himself with his own people in history and literature, and the part they have played in the world's progress, so that he may thereby be enabled to give intelligent replies to the innumerable questions that are constantly put to the Jew relative to his own religion and religious ceremonies, instead of being compelled to confess his utter and shameful ignorance on the subject. It is the man who evinces a deep, enthusiastic interest in everything that concerns the welfare of the Jew in the persecuted countries of the world, as well as in the lands of freedom. It is the man who feels so strongly the ties of Jewish brotherhood and the responsibility of each individual for the deeds of his brother Jew, that he will never let an opportunity slip by of correcting false statements and impressions, expressed as they are, so frequently, derogatory to the character of the Jew, for it has often been alleged that the Jew prizes intellect above character—a statement which the very life of the Jew must prove to be a despicable falsehood.

This is my conception of the highest type of Jew, it should be the ideal, or the ultimate aim and object of the Rabbi, to create in American Jewry. The percentage of such loyal, honorable Jewish citizens that can conscientiously be classed in the above category, it must be sadly admitted, is appallingly small. And if we claim to cherish any Jewish ideals, as far as our Rabbinical life work is concerned, this must surely be the highest, or one of the highest. Therefore, it seems to me, without wishing to appear unnecessarily pessimistic, that we are but at the beginning of our work, and a colossal work it is, though I can conceive of nothing that could possibly bring greater and more lasting results to the Jewish people than its accomplishment. Inasmuch as the charge has time and again been made against the Jew, that he is deaf to

the call of the higher life, I would particularize the heroic effort that must be made to imbue our congregations with an adequate reverence for the higher things of life. Its absence, in most cases, is so glaringly evident, and has given rise to so much adverse comment, that I look upon its growth in the hearts of the Jewish people as a positive ideal worth striving for with all the force at our command. True, we may be compelled to say, as many before us have said, לְרִיק יָנַעְתִּי לַתְּהוֹ וְהַבֵּל כָּחִי כָלִיתִי "I have labored in vain, I have spent my strength for nought and vanity." Yet the attempt, though not the attainment, must give us a deep satisfaction, for how many ideals in life are there that have ever been fully realized, even by the greatest of men? Reverence is, after all, a culture of the feelings, and it cannot be taught like mathematics. It is of slow growth, and the Rabbi's influence in this regard may be painfully futile without the cultural co-operation of the home, where this spirit must be silently working in order to reinforce our own efforts. Has not the Jew been called "the pioneer of international culture?" and small wonder it is, when we consider the blessing the Jewish race has been to the rest of the world—a blessing by reason of the severe discipline and training Israel has received in the school of a cruel and unsympathetic world, whereby his passions and prejudices have been held in check, coupled with the ideals of life emphasized by Jewish Law, that have always been held in front of him, like beautiful visions. Knowing the wonderful possibilities inherent in the Jewish heart, and knowing, too, how easily the Jewish heart can be appealed to and aroused in a noble cause, how can we ever despair or lose confidence in the final achievement of our life's work? חֹזֶק וַאֲמִץ "Be strong and of good courage," must surely be our watchwords in the strife, and we cannot fail. Only let our preaching and teaching have some color, and that a distinctly Jewish color. Let us not reduce our pulpit efforts into vapid moralizings and vain nothingness, though eloquent. We need to be positive in our aims, unyielding and unwavering in our principles. We need to inject more red corpuscles into the Jewish body, to give it life and warmth and prevent it from becoming anaemic. Let us seek our

brethren, and with the inspiration drawn from the majesty of the everlasting hills, from the very voice of God, breathed into nature, give them the message of our hearts, emanating from which are the "issues of life." Yes, let us give them the bread of life, nourishing the mind, enlightening the eyes, refreshing the soul. Let us preach the message written upon the face of the world by the finger of God, as taught specifically by Judaism—the infinite and eternal significance of each human soul, and the ultimate triumph of mercy and truth, blended with righteousness and peace. Let us, if we can, touch their souls with the magic fire and enthusiasm for the old, beautiful Jewish ideals, for all that is good and pure and precious in this world, and the time will come when it will be a distinction to be known when alive and spoken of when dead as a true son of Israel.

G INTERMARRIAGE.

By RABBI MENDEL SILBER, St. Louis, Mo.

In 1806, when the great Synhedrin of one hundred and ten Jewish "notables" was convoked by Napoleon I. to consider Jewish questions of vital importance, the subject of intermarriage was given a place of prominence and distinction on the program. Yet at that time the problem had in no way assumed the magnitude and latitude that it bears today. For, up to very recent times, there could be no intermarriages to any large extent. The ancient and mediæval countries were churches as well as states and could not allow those to be citizens who could not be of the State religion. The isolation into which the Jews were thus cast led in the course of time to a feeling of combined contempt and terror about them among the populace. The folklore of Europe regards the Jews as something infrahuman, and it would have required an almost impossible amount of toleration on the part of a Christian of the middle ages to regard union with a Jew or a Jewess as anything other than unnatural. The ancients already had something of this feeling, and this was intensified when the Christian Church rose into power, regarding, as it did, the Jew as the arch-heretic, the Deicide, the incarnate anti-Christ.¹ If, however, in Napoleon's time the topic of intermarriage was already considered so important, today, after the rays of light have penetrated the darkest corners, after liberalism and tolerance have drawn the races closer together, Jew and non-Jew having come to study and understand each other better, after the natural repulsion and the inherited bias and bigotry have, to a large extent, been overcome and the intermingling between our youths and maidens with the daughters and sons of our neighbors has assumed such wide proportions that David Einhorn has termed intermarriage "the nail in the coffin of Judaism"—today the subject must be considered a burning question.

¹ Vide: Joseph Jacobs' "Studies in Judaism."

What, then, we ask, is the attitude of Judaism, and more especially of Reform Judaism, to intermarriage?

In attempting to answer the question it will be necessary to consider it with reference to Biblical and post-Biblical laws and traditions, to treat of it from the standpoint of modern times and in the light of history and experience. Unfortunately, as regards the Bible, while its laws concerning intermarriage are perfectly plain, the interpretation and application of these to present conditions are not. The Mosaic code² prohibits intermarriage only with the "seven nations" of Canaan, as such an alliance would have led to idolatry with all its immoral results. From this fact it is argued that since, according to the Talmud, the modern nations are not to be considered as idolaters, there would now be, basing on the Bible, no objection to intermarriage. Furthermore, it is claimed, the prohibition was really intended for priests, originally for the high-priest,³ and not for the entire people, as the Mosaic code only has three instances in which marriages had to take place within the tribe. (1) An heiress had to wed one from her father's tribe⁴; (2) The widow of one who died without children had to marry her brother-in-law (levirate marriage)⁵; (3) the high-priest.⁶ Besides, cases of intermarriage, the argument is advanced, are so frequent, Joseph to an Egyptian⁷; Moses to a Midianite⁸; Elimelech's sons to Moabites⁹; Samson to a Philistine¹⁰; David to Macca, daughter of the King of Gessur¹¹; Solomon to a daughter of Pharaoh¹²; Bath-Sheba to Urie the "Hittite"¹³; the mother of King Hiram to a Syrian¹⁴; Ahab to Izebel, a Sydonian princess¹⁵, and many others, including leaders, teachers and warriors¹⁶—the cases are so frequent that the Bible must have tolerated intermarriages. Nor is the explicit permission to intermarry in time of war¹⁷ overlooked in this connection.

² Deut. vii:3.

³ Leviticus xxi:14.

⁴ Num-xxxvi:1-2.

⁵ Deut. xxv:5-10.

⁶ Lev. xxi:14.

⁷ Gen. xli:45.

⁸ Ex. II.21.

⁹ Ruth and Orpah.

¹⁰ Jud. xiv.

¹¹ II. Sam. iv:13.

¹² I. Kings iii:1.

¹³ II. Sam. xi:3.

¹⁴ I. Kings vii:14.

¹⁵ I. Kings xvi:31.

¹⁶ Jud. iii:5-6.

¹⁷ Deut. xxi:10.

Yet, notwithstanding all these facts, those who advocate intermarriage on the Biblical basis seem to miss the point. The spirit of the Bible is utterly opposed to the measure. All parts of the Holy Writ—Torah¹⁸, Nebiim¹⁹, and Kethubim²⁰, are antagonistic to it. If originally the prohibition applied to priests only, it was in Ezra's time extended to include the entire people²¹, and though it was originally forbidden to intermarry only with the "seven nations," it was later protested against intermarriages with any nation.²² While many cases of intermarriage are recorded in the Bible, and many more perhaps took place that are not recorded, yet it is clearly shown in what way these were regarded. Esau's marriage to a "strange woman" caused his father and mother grief.²³ When Samson announces his intended marriage he is severely censured by his parents.²⁴ Moses is taken to task for marrying a Midianitish woman, and when taking up the leadership of Israel he has to separate from Zipporah²⁵. After the sad experience of the Benjaminites and the disfavor into which they had fallen, they rather resort to violence and risk of life than to intermarry.²⁶ Besides, all Jewish commentators are agreed that in all instances of intermarriage,²⁷ including the case of a prisoner of war,²⁸ the non-Jewish party had to embrace Judaism.

Moreover, to attempt a justification of intermarriage on the ground that the Bible prohibits it only with reference to idolatrous nations appears absurd. We must not forget that at the time the Bible was written down Israel was the only monotheistic people. Hence, the laws forbidding intermarriage included only the nations

¹⁸ Ex. xxxiv:16 and Deut. vii:3.

¹⁹ I. Kings xi:1 and 2.

²⁰ Mal. ii:11, Ez. x:5 and 19, Nehem, x:31 and xiii:25.

²¹ Ez. ix:1, 2 and x:10, 11.

²² Nehem. x:31.

²³ Gen. xxvi:34, 35.

²⁴ Jud. xiv:3.

²⁵ Num. xii, see Rashi and Eben Ezra a l.

²⁶ Jud. xxi:16, 17.

²⁷ Kli Yokar, commentary on I. Kings xi.

²⁸ Tal. Tr. Yeb. 48b.

in idolatry, which then meant all the nations. Have we, therefore, a right to suppose that today the Jew may intermarry with the Christian or Mohammedan because, forsooth, Moses did not black-list these? As a matter of fact, Moses and the prophets endeavored to shape the essential and ideal sanctity of marriage to the exigencies of their times, all the while being actuated in their teachings by the most elementary principle of self-preservation. Though at the present time idolatry (in the strict sense, at least), is extinct, the principle underlying the prohibition of intermarriage commends itself to the Jewish conscience. Now, as of old, the religion of Israel must be protected from influences which make for its disintegration. And among those influences none is as strong and as serious as intermarriage. Even where it spares the faith of the Jewish party to it, it does not preserve that of the second generation. No matter even if husband and wife agree to train their children as Jews, the force of conditions and circumstances will assert itself in spite of the agreement, and in the inevitable struggle that will ensue between the diverse doctrines of the parents, those of Judaism will invariably have to succumb. The reasons for this are evident. Judaism is the faith of the minority. It is the harder to practice, and is considered the less favored, the less privileged, and, in some countries, even a proscribed faith, hence the heterogeneous heirs will follow the lines of least resistance and adopt the non-Jewish religion. Let intermarriage but become general and it will not take many centuries before Judaism will disappear. The opposition to intermarriage is, therefore, as justifiable today, and on the same grounds, as it was in Biblical times.

But a consideration of the subject must not stop with the Bible. The fact is that without our "Torah she-b'al-peh" (oral law) we would be utterly hopeless to interpret our "Torah she-b'ksav" (written law) and would be compelled to imitate the silly and senseless practices of the Karaites with whom, by the way, intermarriage is also prohibited.²⁹ We must, then, go for advice to post-Biblic authorities. And here our task becomes at once much

²⁹ Regarding intermarriage with Karaites see I. L. Gordon in "Perochim Veshoshanim" Berdichev, 1892.

easier. For in the realm of traditional law prohibition is the strict rule and permission the rare exception. The Talmud³⁰ goes even so far in its opposition that it considers mixed marriages invalid and that the contracting parties are not even obliged (from a religious standpoint) to be formally divorced in order to nullify their marriage and to separate. Later authorities, as Maimonides³¹ and Caro³², as well as the other codifiers and commentators³³ of the middle ages are all one in condemning mixed marriages.

In more modern times the question was first dealt with in August, 1806, by the French Synhedrin, to whom reference has already been made here. The thesis laid before them read: "May a Jewess marry a Christian, and a Jew a Christian woman, or does the law allow the Jews to intermarry only among themselves?" To what extent these notables were influenced in their reply by a consideration for Napoleon's liberal tendencies and the consequences a negative answer might have for the Jews in the Napoleonic states, I am unable to say. At any rate, they answered affirmatively. But not without a certain reserve. They stated that our law does not say that a Jewess cannot marry a Christian, or a Jew a Christian woman, nor does it hold that the Jews can intermarry only among themselves. The prohibition in general applies to nations in idolatry. Modern nations, however, are not to be considered idolatrous since they worship, like ourselves, the God of heaven and earth. For this reason there have been at several periods intermarriages between Jews and Christians in France, Spain and Germany. But, they added, they could not withhold the fact that the opinion of the Rabbis has ever been against such unions. Although the Mosaic code does not forbid the Jews to intermarry with other nations (a statement whose correctness, I hope, I have successfully disproved), yet, as marriage according to the Talmud requires a religious ceremony called "Kidushin," and as a certain benediction is pronounced during the ceremony, and whereas this religious ceremony cannot be performed unless both parties profess Judaism,

³⁰ Tal. Bab. Tr. Kidushin, p. 86 b.

³¹ Yad Hachazokoh, Hil. Issure Biah xii:1.

³² Eben Ho-ezer xvi:1.

³³ Sefer Mitzvoth Hagodol cxii.

a union between Jew and Christian could not be considered as religiously valid.³⁴ From this it may be seen that the stand the French Synhedrin took to intermarriage was not quite as favorable, as it is sometimes said to have been, at least not as regards its religious character.

The question, of course, arises whether marriage is a religious or a civil function. There are some who claim that it is not a sacred, a religious act, but purely a natural, a civil contract, and it cannot be denied that when divested of its sacred character, marriage falls within the category of ordinary, every-day civil contracts which can be formed by the consent of any two parties. Yet, I am not sure that you and I would subscribe to such a sentiment. Marriage is much more than a common civil contract. The religious sanction is, I take it, an indispensable part of marriage. You will perhaps remember the volley of indignation that was called forth on the part of the ministry and the laity the country over a few years ago when a certain Rev. John Encell advertised in a daily paper, "When you are ready to get married, call on or send for Brother Encell, 107 Davis street, Syracuse, N. Y.; rates from \$3.00 to \$5.00." Now, if marriage is merely a civil contract, why should this have been more improper than it would be for an attorney to advertise his services as a writer and witness of contracts and deeds?

Conceding, then, that marriage is a religious act, it being besides the oldest and most sacred rite and ordinance in the economy of human society, the decision rendered by the Jewish notables must be taken as opposing and not favoring intermarriage.

Of still later authorities, the Rabbinical Conference at Braunschweig, 1844, while stating that mixed marriages were permissible, insisted that this was the case only where there was a solemn understanding that the children would be brought up as Jews, which in the face of the conditions that existed at that time in the majority of the German states, was tantamount to prohibiting intermarriage.

³⁴ *Raccolta degli atti, dell'Assemblea degli Israeliti*, dal. Sig. Diogene Tama, Milan, 1807, pp. 154-156, and Livorno (N. D.) pp. 207-210. Comp. also F. D. Kirwan "Transactions of the Parisian Sanhedrin," London, 1807, pp. 154-156, and Graetz's "History of the Jews," Eng. Ed. Vol. V, p. 491.

Moreover, Ludwig Philipson, one of the moving spirits and eminent scholars at that conference, after voting for the decision, later on, upon sounder study and deeper deliberation of the subject, changed his views and declared himself against intermarriage of any kind.³⁵ So did also Aub and Geiger, members of a committee appointed by the first Jewish Synod at Leipzig, 1869, characterize intermarriage as detrimental to the Jewish faith and fireside.³⁶

Even of greater interest to us should be the opinion of a leader of thought in this country, like David Einhorn, who most emphatically maintained that intermarriage is prohibited from the standpoint of Reform Judaism.³⁷ And so it should certainly be considered by us. Reform Judaism lays the greatest stress upon Israel's selection as a "people of priests."³⁸ Does not this presuppose a pure and unmixed stock? Judaism has ever conceived of the home as a sanctuary at whose altar the housewife functions as priestess. Is this possible, pray, unless she is a Jewess? Not even conversion will remedy the matter to any large extent. The loose and easy conversions that are often performed for the sake of intermarriage add no strength to the Jewish cause. The difficulty cannot be overcome by calling Christians Jews even with their consent.

Nor is the argument tenable that our own brethren today know little more of and care little more for Judaism than the liberal Christian does. Even if this were so the Jew, no matter how ignorant and indifferent in regard to the tenets of our faith, cannot but regard Judaism as his own and himself as a part of the house of Israel. I can readily see why men of the style of Edwin J. Kuh,³⁹ to whom liberal Judaism holds out nothing but "a way-station to free-thinking" and atheism, should propose intermarriage as a panacea for all ills on the Jewish body. But to us, to whom the preservation and the perpetuation of Judaism must be as near and dear as our very lives, to us intermarriage, it seems to me, cannot

³⁵ Philipson "Israelitische Religionslehren," 1865, Vol. III, 350.

³⁶ Geiger's Zeitschrift, Vol. VIII, No. 88, p. 80.

³⁷ Einhorn in "Jewish Times," 1870.

³⁸ Lazarus "Ethics of Judaism," Vol. I.

³⁹ Atlantic Monthly, April, 1908, pp. 438, 439.

but appear in the highest degree objectionable. Some may claim, as was done by a townsman of mine some time ago,⁴⁰ that we should not miss the opportunity of impressing the Christian by our liberalism, since the intermarriage would take place whether or not we lend our services. But such a mode of reasoning is nothing short of folly. Either we Rabbis stand for something or we don't. Either our approval or disapproval does count for something or it does not. If it does, then our opposition, provided we ourselves are positive and firm in our views, may at least deter some of our people from taking the step. If it does not, had we not better try and earn a livelihood in some other vocation of life where our work will count for something? And even if we should be wholly unsuccessful, we must hold with Goethe: "Grosses zu wollen ist gross!" (To strive for great things is great.)

But aside from any religious considerations, we must ask ourselves: Is intermarriage advisable? Is it desirable? Philosophy, history and experience will answer by an emphatic "No!" With intermarriage a very probable source of discord is created. If not in early years, at any rate in later life. Instead of feeling with Edmund Burke that "every care vanishes the moment he enters under his roof," one who has married out of his faith and fold must sooner or later come to feel quite the reverse. A real union in a couple reared differently, attuned to different ideas and ideals, trained in separate atmospheres, breathing a distinct air and living distinct lives is simply impossible. I concede that there may exist a real, strong and lasting friendship between a Jew and a non-Jew; there may be between them a similarity of thoughts and tastes, of philosophical and political tendencies. But friendships are not concluded with the same degree of soulfulness, nor with the same expectations. Friendships may be formed and kept through one single service rendered in life. True and thorough oneness of hearts and souls is not even required. In matrimony, however, it is entirely different. The affection must be constantly renewed and capable of being renewed. When the external charms that may have drawn the young people to each other are vanished, when

⁴⁰ Sale, on "Intermarriages in Modern View," Vol. 1, No. 2, September, 1901.

passion has either spent itself or passed unnoticed, there must be left a common stock of interests and sympathies, one source of joy and sorrow and hope. In true and happy marriage there must be a community of love, a community of respect and reverence, and a community of sentiment, or religion. Every marriage not based on these principles is an altar built for the sacrifice of human happiness; for as surely as effect always follows cause, it will result in misery, strife, dissension and despair. George Eliot, the great dissector of human hearts, has truly and tersely stated the situation: "Mirah's was not a nature that would bear dividing against itself; and even if love won her consent to marry a man who was not of her race and religion, she would never be happy in acting against that strong native bias which would still reign in her conscience as a remorse."⁴¹ If reliance is to be placed in statistics, we must conclude that nature herself stamps her mark of disapproval upon intermarriage. A comparative table of the productiveness of one hundred marriages between the years 1875 and 1881, showed the following averages:⁴²

Where both parents were Protestants, 430 children.

Where both parents were Roman Catholics, 520 children.

Where both parents were Jews, 441 children.

Where one a Protestant and the other a Catholic, 325 children.

Where father was Christian and mother a Jewess, 165 children.

Where father a Jew and the mother Christian, 131 children.

Of course, I do not mean to depreciate or even doubt the power and permanency of true love. But true love is something higher and deeper than mere infatuation. Infatuation is love run mad. True love is the perfect union of two souls on social, intellectual and spiritual bases. The love that actuates marriages in which this is lacking, as is most often the case in intermarriage, is perverted love.

To sum up: The Scriptures and science, history and human experience, Jewish teachings and traditions, conscience and com-

⁴¹ Daniel Deronda, Vol. I, Bk. IV, Chap. xxxii.

⁴² Joseph Jacobs' "Studies in Judaism."

mon sense, all point against intermarriage. If the conclusions here set forth are correct, I feel, therefore, justified in stating, nay, compelled to say, that *intermarriage is inadvisable, undesirable and unpermissible.*

H

CRESCAS AND SPINOZA.

A Memorial Paper in Honor of the Five Hundredth Anniversary
of the "Or Adonoi."

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INTRODUCTION.

It was in the past generation that Jewish scholars recognized that *Spinoza* is dependent on Jewish literature, mostly on *Crescas*. It was M. Joël who emphasized this dependence and showed in a conclusive manner that the basic thoughts of Spinoza's system were taken from the book "Or Adonoi" of Crescas, and that even the new thoughts in Spinoza's "Ethics" are to be derived rather from his attitude towards the philosophy of Crescas than from that towards the philosophy of *Descartes* (cf. *Beitraege zur Geschichte der Philosophie, Crescas*). However, it is not this question with which we have to deal in the present essay. Not the relation between Spinoza's "Ethics" and the philosophy of Crescas do I intend to make the subject of a new investigation, although many a new view may be unfolded also on this old question. I hope to take up this task at another time and in another connection. For the present I aim to point out a new feature in Spinoza's dependence on Crescas, in addition to that discovered by Joël and others. The thesis I have to set forth and to defend in the following chapters concerns the relations between Spinoza's "*Tractatus theologico-politicus*" and the book "Or Adonoi"; a question which, besides its material importance, is of great significance as a bit of *literary history*, one of the chief viewpoints of this treatise, and as an evidence of the influence of the book of this prominent Jewish philosopher of the Middle Ages on Jewish literature, and the literature of the world. (Joël in his exposition of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, cf. *Beitraege*, points chiefly to the elements taken from *Maimuni*, mentioning Crescas only in some subsidiary questions, not seeing the close relation between the two works.)

And as it is well known that the book "Or Adonoi" is framed

within the *theory of dogmas*, it is advisable to look also at the Tractatus from this viewpoint. We shall see that the conception of the Tractatus as an exposition of a *theory of dogmas* is not only justified, but that, moreover, this viewpoint is the only one from which this book can be successfully analyzed and adequately understood. Therefore my task is a *double* one. I have to present the theory of Crescas as to dogmas, paying special attention to those aspects of this theory from which Spinoza started out, and departed in some principal points from his master, and on which he built up his own theory of Dogmas. Such is the subject of the *first chapter* of this treatise. The *second chapter* is devoted to the second part of our theme, viz: the presentation of the Tractatus from the viewpoint of Dogmas; an exposition which discloses the most decisive features in the dependence of this book, both in its principal ideas and in its literary form, on "Or Adonoi."

Having found that Spinoza in his *first* great work is influenced and guided by a Jewish philosopher of the character and the prominence of Crescas, we shall see in a new light also his philosophy developed in his second great work, in the "Ethices," as far as its relation to Judaism in general and especially to the philosophy of Crescas is concerned. We shall see that the spiritual protoplasts from which the system of Spinoza has sprung forth in order to grow and develop and to become a potent movent in philosophy and culture, are rooted deeply in the *last great work* of Jewish philosophy of the Middle Ages. The book "Or Adonoi," the quinque-centenarian jubilee of which we celebrate by this Memorial Paper, serves as the bridge from Jewish philosophy of the Middle Ages to the New Philosophy. Nor is the prominence of this book in its historical consequences confined to its influence upon Spinoza as a philosopher and as a representative of the demand of freedom for science and philosophy and their teachings. We shall see that Spinoza as the first modern *Biblical critic*, too, was influenced greatly by the book of Crescas.

This is one more reason why I connect with this essay the "Excursus on Urim ve-Thummim," embracing the question whether or not the passages treating the "Choshen-Mishpot," the "Urim ve-Thummim," and the "Goral" were contained in the original "Priestly

Code." In general it was Crescas to whom I owe, partly at least, the realization that the question of Dogmas in Judaism is to be solved on the ground of *Biblical criticism* and of the *history of religion*. Of course, not that *positive* element of the book "Or Adonoi," by which Spinoza was led to Biblical criticism, was of any help to me. In our days other sources and other stimuli certainly lead people to cultivate Biblical criticism, who endeavor to understand Judaism on the basis of its literary sources. Nevertheless, I admit that the same *negative* element in the book "Or Adonoi" which forced Spinoza to Biblical criticism, was to me also an additional stimulus to treat the problem of Dogmas in Judaism in the way I did in my as yet unpublished Hebrew work "History of Jewish Dogmas," an outline of which appeared in the Sample-Volume of the contemplated Hebrew Encyclopedia ("Otsar hay-Yahaduth," ed. "Achiasaf," Warsaw, 1906, p. 1-75). This is especially true of that excursus. It was the fact that Crescas counts the belief in the efficiency of the Urim ve-Thummim among the dogmas of the same degree of importance as Creation and Retribution which led me to the special research on the question how far this view can be justified from our standpoint that no teaching is to be claimed to have the significance of a dogma, unless it is emphasized as such in one of the last two Books of Covenant (Deuteronomy and the Priestly Code, the latter taken in its larger form after it had been combined with the "Book of Holiness" in one composition). And this is the first, *natural* reason for the connection of the excursus on this question with the present essay. It was in the system of Crescas, where the strangeness of the Urim ve-Thummim to the general characteristic of the Priestly Code became clear to me, and also the necessity to test the sources with regard to the genuineness of the Urim ve-Thummim and those connected therewith. And if Spinoza's idea of ascertaining the Dogmas by Biblical criticism is to be derived from his attitude toward the book "Or Adonoi," a fact we will recognize, then our excursus is one special instance of the remarkably manifold efficiency of this book.

I.

CHISDAI CRESCAS.¹

Crescas in his book "Or Adonoi" (אור ה') introduced a new aspect into the discussion of the question of dogmas; new at least as to the conscious consistency in the exposition of the whole doctrine of dogmas from this viewpoint. For as to the matter itself it was Philo (and others) who emphasized the dogma as the *basis of the Torah* (as shown in my History of Jewish Dogmas). Yet, while his predecessors in this aspect counted only those dogmas which they considered the basis of the Torah, Crescas differentiates between three classes, or, rather, degrees of dogmas.

Crescas distinguishes between "Principles of the Torah" (פנות תוריות) "with which the Torah stands and falls" (II Tr., introd., p. 20a); "True beliefs" (אמונות אמיתיות) "the denier of one of which is to be called a heretic" (III Tr., introd., p. 44c), or "Roots which, although their truth is beyond doubt, are not Principles of the Torah without which it (the Torah) could not exist" (ib. 1 part, ch. 3 at the beg., p. 62b); and, finally, "Opinions" (כבריות) "toward which the reason is inclined on the ground of Tradition" (IV Tr., introd.), "still, he who does not believe in them is not to be called a heretic." (Premise, at the end).

Thus we can omit the Opinions from the number of the dogmas in the doctrine of Crescas, and take them into consideration only as far as they are of some consequence for the explanation of Crescas' system in general.

¹Crescas was born about 1340, and died about 1410. His philosophic standard-work, "Or Adonoi" was written in the last years of his life. According to the closing remark of the book it was finished in the month Zive (Eyar) 5170—May 1410; but the second chapter of tractate III., section 5, was written in the year 1337 after the Destruction (as pointed out by Crescas himself), that is 5165 (the old Jewish scholars dated the Destruction two years earlier), 1405. It is impossible to suppose Crescas to have worked on the last few pages of the book five years. At any rate the book was finished between the years 1405—1410, the latter being, perhaps, the year of the edition. The *editio princeps* of the book Ferrara 1555 (5315) according to the "improved" reprint of which (Johannisburg, Prussia) I am quoting.

The principles of the Torah are:

1. God's *Omniscience*. 2. *Providence*. 3. *Omnipotence*. 4. *Prophecy*. 5. *Man's free will*. 6. *The Purpose* (of the Torah which is the Purpose of the Universe).

The "True Beliefs" are divided by Crescas into "Beliefs attached to special commandments" and "Beliefs which are not attached to special commandments."

Of the first kind there are *eight*: 1. *Creation*. 2. The *eternal life* of man's soul. 3. *Reward and Punishment*. 4. *Resurrection*. 5. The *eternity of the Torah* (no abrogation). 6. *Moses*, and the exclusiveness of his prophecy. 7. The belief that the *Highpriest* was answered (every time) through the *Urim ve-Thummim*. 8. *Messiah*.

Of the second kind there are *three*: 1. The Beliefs attached to the *Prayer* and the *Benediction* of the priest. 2. The Belief attached to *Repentance*. 3. The Beliefs attached to the *Day of Atonement* and the four seasons for the *divine festivals*.

Of "Opinions" there are *thirteen* (cf. below).

In this enumeration we miss the dogma of the *existence of God*. The reason why Crescas does not count this dogma is to be sought in the confusion of *dogmas* and *commandments* by Crescas. He opposes *Maimuni* for counting the belief in the existence of God as a particular commandment, insisting that the conception of commandment supposes at the same time the commander, so that the belief in the existence of God cannot be considered a particular commandment. Crescas, therefore, does not count the existence of God a particular dogma (cf. "Premise" in the beginning of the book), distinguishing it by the name of "The great Root." This conclusion of Crescas is not intelligible enough, since, after all, the existence of God is a particular dogma, though it is not a particular commandment. Moreover, the decisive criterion of the Principles of the Torah demands imperatively to regard the existence of God a particular dogma, for the reason that there can be no commandment without a commander. Indeed, Crescas does not insist upon this his view (cf. III, 1 part, introd., p. 45a). And still, Crescas could not emancipate himself completely from the confusion of dogma with commandment, as we see in the special emphasis of beliefs which are attached to commandments. But we will show later

on that this attitude of Crescas indicates another important aspect in his dogmatics.

To understand the motive in the division of the dogmas by Crescas we refer to our own division in our History of Jewish Dogmas. There we divided the Jewish dogmas into *essential* and *historical* ones.

The essential are:

1. The *existence* of God, as eternal, spiritual, and unique.
2. *Prophecy*.
3. Man's *free will*.
4. *Retribution*.

To these *four primary* essential dogmas, that is to say, to these four dogmas which were accepted and acknowledged in the authoritative document of Judaism from the earliest time of its appearance in history, are to be added two others, each of them being of a special kind.

5. The *existence* of *angels*. This dogma, while strongly emphasized by the first Book of the Covenant, was rejected by the second and the third, and likewise by the later authoritative documents of Judaism. We refer to the Benedictions, Prayers, and Torah-Readings selected and introduced at the end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century before the new era (if not earlier), recitations, the entirety of which we consider the *fourth dogmatical document* of Judaism, and, finally, the *fifth dogmatical document*: the *Mishna*.
6. *Creation*. This dogma, notwithstanding its being a strict logical consequence of the basic thought of Judaism, the ethical monotheism, we do not find it in the two first Books of the Covenant, even as in general in all parts of biblical literature prior to *Jeremiah*. We distinguish therefore, this dogma by the particular designation *essential-historical dogma*, corresponding to its peculiar position in the development of Judaism from an *ethical theory*, confined within the limits of a *life-conception*, into an *ethico-cosmological* theory, a comprehensive *world-view*, composed of a conception of life and a conception of the world.

The historical are:

1. *Resurrection*.
2. The *World-hereafter*, in the sense of *spiritual retribution* of the soul while being outside of the body.
3. *Messiah*.
4. *Torah from the Heaven*, in the sense that the Torah is *eternally existent*.
5. *Oral Tradition* (cf. my article "Ikkarim" in *אוצר ההירות* p. 5, and *passim*).

Now, if we compare the division of Crescas with our division, we find that the six Principles of the Torah, together with the Great Root are identical with our four primary essential dogmas, excepting the dogma of Retribution, *instead of which* Crescas counts the dogma of the Purpose of the Torah. Likewise our historical dogmas are contained in Crescas' *True Beliefs*, and partly in his *Opinions*. Of course, Crescas' Beliefs and Opinions contain more than our historical dogmas. However, not the additional beliefs and superstitions of Crescas are the subject to which we have to pay attention. As to these it will be sufficient to discover the source from which they flowed to Crescas. The difference as to the principle between our division and that of Crescas concerns chiefly the dogmas of *Retribution* and *Creation* which with us are essential, Principles of the Torah, whereas Crescas counts them among the dogmas of the second degree. True it is that also with us the dogma of Creation is, to a certain extent at least, an historical one, and we shall see that Crescas felt the peculiar position of this dogma in Judaism. Nevertheless it is just this dogma which bears out the difference by which we will come to a justified appreciation of Crescas' doctrine of dogmas, and to a thorough understanding of the relationship of Spinoza to Crescas.

As to Crescas' methodology it presents a combination of *three methods*, the significance of which we learn in the history of Jewish philosophy, namely that of *Saadya*, that of *Jehuda Hallevi*, and that of *Maimuni*. Like Saadya Crescas sometimes inserts logical premises into aggadistic-mythological conceptions, and makes the combination of both a matter of philosophic investigation and discussion, without being aware that it is only the *frame* of the investigation which receives a philosophic touch whilst the matter itself is pending in the realm of the Aggada, not having any root in the solid ground of logic; like Hallevi he endeavors, seemingly, to escape the many stranded network of the peripatetic philosophy, while he in reality is caught therein, and, moreover, strives to grasp cognitions in spheres beyond the limits of philosophy by means of a *theosophic enthusiasm*, scaling upwards; and, finally, like Maimuni he penetrates deeply into the very core of the subtlest problems, and discloses their inmost logical relations. And as his method so is also the *system* of Crescas. The philosophic

system of Crescas consists of clearly and profoundly thought out sentences, on the one hand, and of striking superstitions, on the other, both being connected by the intermediate link of true beliefs. And although the true beliefs we tend to are not all identical with the True Beliefs enumerated by Crescas—the latter containing some beliefs which we consider superstition—it is this *three-fold influence* flowing from the classical period of Jewish philosophy to which we have to refer as the decisive motive in the composition of the book “Or Adonoi.” While the first of the *four Tractates* of which the book consists, presents itself as a strong attack upon the premises of peripateticism, the three following tractates which correspond to the three degrees of dogmas are caught partly in the network of the peripatetic philosophy, and partly in that of mysticism; the former especially in the second and (to a smaller extent) the third tractate, but the latter especially in the fourth tractate.

As to the superstitions we shall see that they interfere even in the most philosophic portions of the system. For the present it is sufficient to remark that these strange inclinations in the mind of Crescas are the result of his position as a *Disputator* with Christian theologians. In his “Or Adonoi” Crescas does not dispute expressly with the Christian theology (cf., however, III tr. 1 part, sect. 8; p. 61-62, concerning the dogma of Messiah). But if we compare his standard-work with his tractate: “Refutation of the Christian Dogmas” we soon become aware that the source of all the superstitions we find in Crescas, is to be traced to the influence of his occupation with Disputations. He who handles colors cannot expect to remain entirely clean, without having caught a stain or two on his hands. And this is true especially of our fathers in the talmudical and the philosophic literature who had so many a view in common with Christian theology.

We now come to our subject-proper, the philosophic conception of the dogmas in the system of Crescas:

The philosophy of Crescas is one of *absolute determinism*. *Necessity* is the last root of all being and all becoming. True, *Necessity* with Crescas is not blind necessity like the old Greek *Ananke* (*Fatum*) to which even the necessity of the world with Aristotle is to be ultimately traced. In the *Necessity* of Crescas

there is left room for the Will as a living movent in all being and becoming; there is room for a certain conception of Creation. But this Will and this creation do not mean more than an *intellectual consciousness* concomitant with all activities in the Universe. It is this divine consciousness of which Crescas states that it "distributes existence to the creatures, and issues the *law of their existence*," that is to say the law of their being and becoming: *natural law*. Some writers put Crescas at the side of Hallevi in refuting philosophy, and present the system of Crescas as one which restores the old Jewish tradition of Creation and other dogmas. As to Hallevi I refer to my treatise: Jehuda Hallevi's philosophy in its principles (issued in the Catalogue of the Hebrew Union College, 1908) where I have shown that this interpretation of the book of Al-Khazari is a gross mistake. Still greater is the mistake with regard to Crescas. It is hard to realize how it was possible to change the clear words of this profound philosopher into their opposite (Joël saw the true state of affairs, but he is rather inclined to suppress the clear formulation of these striking thoughts in Jewish philosophy). Crescas discusses at large and refutes the statement of *Gersonides* that the Creation took place on the ground of an eternal hylic principle which in its potential being is entirely independent of God. And he shows that this theory and its arguments are unsustainable: "There is nothing necessary in being because of itself except God, and everything else, *created or eternal*, is possible in being because of itself; and has *issued from Him*. Now, this issue was necessarily *either by necessity* or by Will. It does not matter whether we say "(Created) out of Nothing," what means that it (the world) entered existence after its non-existence, and that there was no bearer existing previously; or we say *that both* (matter and form) *issued by necessity*, since by this (latter statement), too, we intend to say nothing else than that they had no previous bearer, since both matter and form, issued after non-existence (thus they could not have any previous bearer), and that their entire being issued from Him."

To begin with the latter sentence: Between these two statements, for that is what Crescas means, there is no difference on the principle: "Created out of Nothing," or "after non-existence,"

in both we deny only the existence of a bearer, a material principle independent in its being of God; but in both we state that all beings besides God issued from Him. If we say, then, "out of nothing," we can neglect the addition: "after non-existence," because not the absence of existence is the point we have to lay stress upon, but the absence of an existence independent of God. Consequently, should there be a possibility of a previous existence of the kind that does not include the existence of an independent previous bearer, there would be no objection thereto: and this is the case when we posit the existence of the world as an *eternal issue* from God. Because, this is the sense of the former sentence, it makes no difference whether we say the world is created, or we say it is eternal. For not the eternity is the decisive aspect of the question under discussion, but the "necessity because of itself." We perfectly comply with the only justified demand of the conception of creation, if we only deprive the world of the necessity in being because of itself, and mark it by the possibility of being because of itself as a *creature*. Moreover, we have to lay stress upon the addition "because of itself." For the possibility because of itself is not the only mark of the creatural nature, the *necessity because of God* is another mark. Once we have conceded that all being besides God issued from Him, we must be consistent enough to conceive this issue concomitant with the existence of God, thus necessary because of Him, because of His necessity in being. Of course, the world necessary because of God is an eternal one, as God is eternal. Indeed, this is the imperative demand of the true God-conception. To posit a non-eternal issue from God would mean to posit a finiteness of His Might, and to carry changeability into His essence. "It is beyond doubt," for thus Crescas continues the passage quoted above, "that the difference between these two statements ("created," or "eternal") concerns but (the question of) *God's might*. When we suppose it (the world) to be eternal, it indicates a (divine) *Might non-confined in time*, while if we suppose it to be created, it indicates a *Might confined in time*. Besides (there is one more reason for which) we had to suppose it eternal, since from the *relation* between the Creator and the creature, having to be *at every time the same*, unavoidably follows its everlast-

ing (*constant*) issue from Him, and its necessity, even as it was supposed. For there is no special time in which the issue had to take place, so that the (demanded) Ever would be (begin) *after* this issue.

Now, from this our supposition, that is to say, *from the everlasting issue of being by necessity*, follows the positing of a (divine) Might non-confined (in time), being constantly engaged in activity. And the reason for this is that the (active) force (might) is confined only when there is a *mutual relation* between the active force and that which suffers the action, whilst where there is no (such) relation, *there the active force is unavoidably non-confined.*"

Crescas endeavors to save the Will, and it is very interesting to see *how* he does this. While in the passage quoted above he takes into consideration *two* eventualities: the issue of the world from God can be conceived *either* in the way of necessity, *or* in the way of free Will—he is now going to show that in reality the way of necessity *implies* the free Will. "Further I am going to state," so reads the continuation of the passage just quoted, "that from this our supposition, that is to say (from that of), the necessity of (the issue of) the Universe from Him, follows logically that it takes place (but) *in the way of (free) Will*. And this, namely, for two reasons. The first: From our supposition of the necessity (of the issue) of the Universe from an *intelligent principle* follows that it takes place in the way of *conception*, and that it (the intelligent principle) distributes existence (to the beings of the Universe) in the way of the perfect conception, that is to say, (in the way of) a conception of the *law* of the beings, and (of) the conception (consciousness) thereof that it (the intelligent principle) is distributing existence of the law and that of the beings themselves, in their entirety, and individually, as well; that is to say, that there is no thing which would not acquire the existence and the essence from the conception of that intelligent principle. And since it is an intelligent principle, surely *it does will what it conceives*. Indeed, *Will does not mean anything else but this, i. e. to be conceived*: that it (the intelligent principle) is willing and (therefore) distributing (existence and essence of the beings) by the way of thinking and conceiving their existence (and essence). And since

that is so, it is now evident that from our supposition of the necessity (of the issue) of the Universe from Him follows that it takes place in the way of Will, and, according to our previous exposition, it follows further *that this Will is a constant one.*"

The necessity of the Universe by a constant Will! This means the Universe, while being possible because of itself, is in reality a necessary and eternal being because of its *necessity and constant issue* from God

True, Crescas does not forget that it is always only a "supposition," (הנחה) spoken of, and towards the end of this discussion he adds: "In this way the Torah and the miracles mentioned therein are imaginable *even if we would believe* the necessity (of the issue) of the Universe from Him in the way of goodness (free Will); but the *perfect truth* is as it came down by Tradition, namely, *that God created and originated it (the world) in a given time*, as we are told in the first chapter of Genesis." Yet, he soon continues: "There remains, however, the question: Why God originated it (the world) in a given time; since the relation to the time is in every part of it the same, both as regards the Creator as well as the creature?" To this question Crescas presents two answers. The first: The divine wisdom has chosen a given time, just because every moment of the eternal time was equally fit for the task of Creation. The second: "Or we allow ourselves (to accept) what is to be found in some sentences of our sages quoted by Maimuni, and not (to read ״, instead of ״) contradicted by anyone, namely the sentence: It indicates that God was constructing worlds and destroying them; or such as: It indicates that there was an order of times before that. The intention of these sentences is, apparently, the *constant Creation*. And this is aimed at in the coinage of the Benedictions: He (God) is creating every day, constantly, the work of the early Creation; for the Creation of the Universe in its entirety out of Nothing is a *constant one.*" (cf. to this whole discussion III tr. 1 sect., 5 ch.).

As to the *philosophic* conviction of Crescas there cannot be any doubt that he conceives the world as an eternal necessary issue from God.

And this will become definitely clear to us, when we turn to the dogmas of *Omniscience*, *Providence* and *Might*.

Crescas discusses largely the dogma of the divine knowledge, stating that this is going into the *details*. But as he reduces the conception of the divine knowledge ultimately to the conclusion which is to be gained in the discussion of the dogma of Creation: "that those which are embraced by the knowledge of God acquired their existence from His knowledge, His consciously conceived Will" (II tr., 1 sect., 4 ch.; p. 23*b*), we know how we have to understand this. Likewise Crescas endeavors to establish the *Providence in details*, while in the very result of the discussion of this question the field of Providence is an extremely limited one: The general natural Providence attached to the species is *fixed and determined*, and has no reference to the (ethical and religious) perfection of those taken care of. The individual Providence is of a double kind: One of them is completely referred to the perfection of those taken care of, namely the retribution of the soul in the world hereafter; of this Crescas says: "It is evident that this Providence is *fixed and determined by His eternal Will*." The second is the retribution in *this* world, "fixed and determined, but not completely referred to the perfection of those taken care of," since there are in this world "just ones who suffer and sinners who enjoy" (Ibid. 2 sect., 1 ch.; p. 25). And here, too, Crescas emphasizes that his view in this question is based on the outcome of the future discussion on the dogma of Creation (Ibid. ch. 5; p. 28*a*).

Still greater is the evidence in the discussion on the dogma of *Might*: The "*supposition*" of that discussion presents itself here as the *real conviction* of Crescas: The Might of God is infinite not only in *intensity*, but also in *time* (Ibid. 3 sect., 1 ch. at the beg.; p. 29*b*). The definite conclusion of this discussion reads: "It is clear, then, that it is the *dogma of Creation*, according to Torah and Tradition, which has enlightened our eyes in this matter. It is this: It will be shown in the *third tractate* in a manner beyond doubt that the Universe in its entirety is created by God absolutely in the way of the *Will*, although there was nothing previously. It is, therefore, evident that the Creator is working without (mutual) relation between Him and the creature.... (always in

the style of the "supposition"). And, surely, from the foregoing follows necessarily that the (Might) non-confined in intensity and in time cannot be a *mere potential one* which would become the more actual the farther it is going in the Ever (in the eternal time); on the contrary, it follows necessarily that there is a Might (as a source) of being *non-confined in intensity, being an actual one.*" (Ibid. 2 ch.).

Thus in full accord with his *cosmological* determinism Crescas is an *ethical* determinist, too. This, his attitude, intimated already in his teaching of Providence, comes to full manifestation in the discussion of the dogma of *man's free will*. Also here Crescas endeavors to save the word "free will." Yet, the word is deprived of its real content. To formulate Crescas' attitude exactly: The actions of man are *possible because of themselves*, but *necessary because of their motives and the knowledge of God*: "The sum of the matter," so Crescas closes the exposition of this question, "is this: These material things of possible being, inasmuch as the free will is applicable to them, (i. e. inasmuch as the deeds of man are concerned), taken for granted that it is the very nature of will to will or not to will without any forcing cause from without, which is the right way according to the Torah, are to be considered *possible because of (their motives and) themselves*, yet necessary because of [their (inner) motives and] the knowledge of God" (Ibid. V sect., 3 ch., 36a; it is beyond doubt that the text of this passage is corrupt: compared with the foregoing passage: ולזה היה האמת הגמור כפי מה שתחייבהו התורה והעיון, שטבע האפשרים נמצא בדברים בבחינת עצמם, לא בבחינת סבותם, אלא שהפרסום הזה מזיק להמון . . . and with the following at the beginning of ch. 5: ואם היה שיסכים מה ההפרש בין החיוב אשר בבחינת הסבות בזולת הרגש . . . והכרח, אונם והכרח, it is evident that the passage is to be restored into: אפשריים בבחינת סבותם ועצמותם ומחוייבים בבחינת סבותם וידעת השם; instead of: אפשריים בבחינת סבותם ועצמותם ומחוייבים בבחינת ידעת השם; or we have to understand the words סבותם ועצמותם here as a *pleonasm* and to translate: "because of themselves.")

Crescas believed to have saved the dogmas according to the Torah, but in reality he saved the contents of the traditional belief only in the dogmas of the existence of God as a Spiritual Being,

and of His knowledge, whilst in the dogmas of Creation, Providence, Might, and man's free will he saved only the *theological language*. The ultimate meaning of free will in the system of Crescas is, according to his own confession, the *pleasure and the joy* one feels while doing something good or bad. Yet, even with regard to pleasure and joy there is no room for free choice. Besides, in *matters of creed*, even according to the true adherents of man's free will, there is no room for free choice as to pleasure and joy or sorrow concomitant with a certain opinion gained by reason or tradition. The "detailed Providence" in the system of Crescas is fixed and determined from eternity, and necessary in all its details. Reward and punishment are *inherent* in the deeds themselves (cf. below). And the deeds of man themselves are, no doubt, possible, yet this only because of themselves. That is to say: It is well possible that *some man* would do *in some case* good or evil. Yet man's deeds are necessary because of their motives and the knowledge of God about them. That is to say: If we have to deal with a *known* individual in an *actual case*, then we cannot conceive the man in relation to his deeds otherwise than necessitated. And likewise the *products* of man's deeds are necessitated. Reward and punishment are inherent in man's actions like the healing or destructive efficiency in the medicines: "As to the second objection (to the determinism), taken from (the dogma of) reward and punishment, namely, that the opinion of man being necessitated in his actions would mean to make reward and punishment an injustice on the part of God, it seems, indeed, to be a strong objection, able to refute all determinism. But if we think it over, we find that its solution is not difficult at all. It is this: Suppose that reward and punishment follow necessarily from worship and disobedience *as the effects follow from their causes*, there is no way to say that they (reward and punishment) are an injustice; just as it is not an injustice *if one burns himself when he comes in contact with fire*, even if this coming in contact took place *independently of his will*" (Ibid, p. 35c). According to this statement it is clear that ethical responsibility has no room in the system of Crescas. Responsibility is mere *reference*: "Reward and punishment are *referred* to the fulfilling of a commandment or to the transgression of a prohibi-

tion" (III tr., 3 sect., 1 ch., p 54a). *Instead* of Retribution Crescas counts the *Purpose*, the *Love of God*, as a Principle of the Torah. Crescas himself justifies this by the statement that the purpose of the Torah is the *worship out of Love*, not such because of retribution. But we have seen that the dogma of Retribution in its meaning in the philosophy of Crescas has no force to sustain the imperatives of the Torah.

Now we understand the attitude of Crescas in the division of the dogmas.

Crescas did not see clearly the difference between essential and historical dogmas, yet in his division he came close to this difference. He did not see clearly the peculiar historical position of the dogma of Creation, yet he penetrated profoundly into the logical relations of this dogma to the others. He quotes the known sentence of Rabbi Jitschok (quoted by *Rashi* to Genesis I, 1) that the Torah had to begin with the legal portion (Ex. 12), and thus justifies why he did not count the dogma of Creation as a Principle of the Torah. And still he reduces the conception of the Principles to the outcome of the discussion on Creation. This is in accordance with the historical development of the dogmas in Judaism: The dogma of Creation, though formulated in a later time, became afterwards the center of gravity of all spiritual movement in Judaism, as shown in my *History of Dogmas in Judaism*. We have seen that the dogmas of Providence, Might and man's free will received their deterministic character out of the conception of Creation, and we perceive now from a new viewpoint why the dogma of retribution lost its principle-character in the system of Crescas. In accordance with the conception of Creation, man's actions are possible only because of themselves, being necessary because of their motives and the knowledge of God; and, in consequence of this, reward and punishment are inherent in the deeds themselves, their *effects*. This is the essential difference between the dogmas of Providence, Might, and man's free will, and the dogma of Retribution. Also the former have lost their traditional contents in the system of Crescas. But, after all, they are the very *causes* of the imperatives of the Torah, and, therefore, the Principles of the Torah. Not so the dogma of Retribution: Reward and punish-

ment are the *effects* of the imperatives of the Torah, the latter being, so to speak, the *intermediate link* in the chain of causes and effects.

Hence we see the connection between the philosophic principle in the system of Crescas and the superstitious elements of the same: Reward and punishment are inherent in man's deeds themselves. To be sure, Crescas emphasizes repeatedly the value of the intention while doing something good or bad. But the importance of the intention is relegated more and more into the background in the sight of the deterministic general view, and in that of the superlatively emphasized efficiency of the deeds by *their own weightiness*. In the introduction to my History of Dogmas in Judaism I pointed out the relation of Judaism to the attitude of the church on this question. In the controversy about the question of *opus operantis* or *opus operatum* the Council decided in favor of the latter, and we will see that it is in this sense that the attitude of Crescas presents itself. Crescas lays especial stress upon the efficiency of *Circumcision*, and in the same direction upon the *Sacrifice of Isaac* (the latter, perhaps, because of the *martyrdom of his own son*). The children owe the salvation of their souls in the world hereafter to the ceremony of Circumcision which was performed on them (IV tr., 8 expos. at the end; and what about the female children?) The Patres said: The children owe their salvation to the ceremony of *Baptism* which was performed on them. The Circumcision, says Crescas, is "as if they *offered blood and flesh* of their genitals to God" (II tr., 1 sect., 6 ch., p. 28b). The Selection of Israel was sealed by the act of the *Akeda*. Says Crescas: "He (God) led them all (the Israelites) to His service, and excepted them from the general dominion (of the heavenly bodies) on the strength of the *Sacrifice embracing the entirety of the nation, the act of Akeda*. That is to say: By offering his son Isaac, the bearer of the promise for the future, he (Abraham) offered, as it were, Isaac and all his future posterity to God, so that by this act they were removed from the dominion of somebody else and taken into the special Providence of God himself. And, indeed, it was explained in the Astrology that there is a possibility of (getting a special) influence from a (certain) star by means of the action of a (fit) operator,

even if it was not so in the (horoscopic) *nativity* of the individual referred to, as all this is set forth in the book of "Fruit" of Ptolemy. And this was the reason why God, after His wisdom had decreed to select this nation, prepared and disposed the same by this act to receive his (special) Providence, excepting it from the dominion of somebody else, though it was not determined to be so in the nativity (of the nation). Indeed, it is evident, that as this was an act of *grace* to our whole nation, the posterity of Isaac, it was suitable *that there should remain to them a trace of that act*; besides it is therein a great help for the continuation of the special Providence. And therefore, it is probable that the intention of the two *daily sacrifices*, one in the morning and the other in the evening, thus during the change of the times, was to intimate that it (the Akeda) was a sacrifice of atonement for all Israelites with the view of removing them from the dominion of the servants (the heavenly bodies) and distinguishing them by the special Providence of God Himself" (ibidem). One can hardly escape the conclusion, that this whole conception of the Akeda is coined in the *characteristic coinage of Christology*! [In a way Crescas is influenced, here as elsewhere, by Jehuda Hallevi, but there is a difference in the principle; cf. my treatise: Jehuda Hallevi's philosophy in its principles.]

And also the view of Crescas about the efficiency of the *priests* in Israel we find in accordance with said standpoint: "Thus it is evident," Crescas says, "that to the conditions of this commandment (the priestly Benediction) *does not* belong that he (the priest) should be *wise or just*. For as the priests are (only) *intermediating* between the Israelites and their Father in Heaven, and as ~~the~~ priests are obliged to fulfill this commandment, this benediction being for the sake of the congregation—the atonement is not conditioned by the perfection of the priests in a measure that in the case of their not being perfect the outcome (of the benediction) had to be entirely missed. Besides, God inserted into the (acts of the) commandments *special dispositions*, like the medicines: *As the medicines exert their efficiency by their qualities and by the entirety of their substance, just so the (acts of the) commandments of the Torah*. And as one medicine would obliterate (neutralize) the special efficiency of the other, just so is the relation between the

(acts of the) commandments and (those of) the transgressions: Namely, that sometimes the effect of (the act of) one commandment had to be some bodily fortune, yet (the act of) some transgression deprives him (the man) of that fortune, or vice versa." (II tr., 1 sect., 2 ch., p. 63*b*; also here the influence of Hallevi is quite evident). We see, that it is simply the principle of *opus operatum* we have to deal with in this view of Crescas about the intellectual and ethico-religious qualities of the priests. It is the well-known Christian teaching of the inextinguishable power of the priestly Ordination, even after the priest had ceased to comply with the demands of the sacerdotal integrity and dignity.

Finally, the teaching of Crescas, that the belief in the necessity of the Highpriest being answered to his questions by the *Urim ve-Thummim*, is along the same line. And here Crescas establishes an exception from the rule just mentioned. The answer of the Urim ve-Thummim to the Highpriest is conditioned by his being perfect in complying with the intellectual and ethico-religious demands (III tr., 7 sect., 1 ch., at the end). The reason for this is, (cf. below) that the Urim ve-Thummim is not a "vessel" (a sacrament) in itself, and demands therefore certain conditions on the part of the acting priest. The belief in the Urim ve-Thummim, of course, cannot be considered as a superstition with Crescas, since it is based on the Holy Scripture and the Tradition. Therefore the question of how far this teaching of the Scripture can be considered as a *dogma* in Judaism is to be tested in the way of *historical and literary criticism*, a task to which we have devoted the *closing excursus* of this treatise.

And also the fact, that Crescas counts *Repentance* and the *festivals* as dogmas, can be understood fully only by the parallelism with the relative Christian teachings (cf. the introduction to my *History of Dogmas in Judaism*).

From his philosophic principles, in combination with the superstitions implied in them, we find the way open to the "Opinions" of Crescas, too.

The world is *eternal in the future*—because in reality it is eternal in the past also. The heavenly bodies are intellectual beings—this teaching, of course, is a belief common to almost all of the philoso-

phers of the Middle Ages, but with Crescas this teaching is of special significance in the direction of *Astrology*, Amulets and *Spelling-charms*—Crescas goes into the merits of these arts; he distinguishes between “vessels” the efficiency of which flows from the *act itself*, and such acts of oracles and magic power the outcomes of which are conditioned by the perfection of the acting individual (IV tr., 5 expos.; cf. above). Demons, *Metempsychosis*, Retribution, somewhat of *bodily nature*, in the *Hell* and the *Paradise* which are located somewhere in space, are the most striking features on the line of superstitious Opinions with Crescas. Finally, I mention his concession that in the way of miracle there may be a possibility for man to grasp the very substance of God. Crescas guesses that it was this way of God-cognition Moses asked for; this is in contradiction with his own philosophic teaching (I tr., 3 sect., 3 ch).²

In the foregoing exposition we disclosed the *material* points of contact between Spinoza and Crescas. The literary ones we reserved for the exposition of the next chapter, in order to avoid repetition.

II.

SPINOZA.³

The “*Tractatus theologico-politicus*,” conceived as a *doctrine of Dogmas*, belongs to *Jewish literature*. True, Spinoza tends to “the

²As to the development of Crescas’ inclination to conceive some Jewish teachings in the light of Christology out of his activity as a disputator, cf. his treatise “*Refutation of the Dogmas of Christianity*” (ed. Karni 1902), as to *Circumcision* in its parallelism to *Baptism*, p. 8, 16, 18, 21, 61; as to the Akeda p. 79; as to Urim ve-Thummim, p. 62.—True, in the question of Creation, p. 24, 25, man’s free will, p. 84, and of Demons, p. 88, Crescas contradicts himself in “*Or Adonoi*”, as remarked already by the translator of the treatise from Spanish into Hebrew, Joseph ben Schem-Tob. Yet, the supposition of the latter that the treatise was written *later* than the standard-work, is groundless. The opposite chronological order is an *accredited historical fact* (cf. Graetz, in the Note). Besides, to every attentive reader of the works under discussion it is beyond doubt that the treatise in its relation to the standard-work is like a sour grape compared with a fully ripe one.

³*Baruch Spinoza*, Nov. 24, 1632—Feb. 21, 1677. The “*Tractatus theologico-politicus*” appeared anonymously in 1670 in Amsterdam, but on the title-page we read: “*Hamburgi*,” according to this first edition I am quoting. The “*Ethics*” appeared posthumously.

dogmas of the universal faith" (XIV, p. 163: *fidei universalis dogmata*), and thus we can justify the Jewish writers on this subject in their neglecting Spinoza in this regard,⁴ yet the fact, that Spinoza bases his doctrine on the *Holy Scripture*, makes the same a part of Jewish speculation on the question of dogmas. No doubt, Spinoza emphasizes his intention to base his theory on the *universal Scripture* (*ibidem*: *sive universae Scripturae intenti fundamentalia*), and at the end of the *seventh dogma* he shows with some purpose that he treats the subject indifferently, yet the fact remains that the chief discussion is on the ground and from the viewpoint of the Old Testament.

Spinoza formulates the *general principle of faith*: "There is a Highest Being who loves Justice and Charity, to whom (then) all have to be obedient in order to be saved, and whom they have to worship by the Cult of Justice and Charity in relation to fellow-men."

This general principle he analyzes, then, into *seven dogmas*:

1. "There exists a God, i. e. a Highest Being, perfectly just and merciful, or the Exemplar of the right life (conduct); for he who does not know or does not believe that He exists, can neither be obedient to Him, nor acknowledge Him as Judge."

2. "He is *unique*. Certainly, none can doubt that also this is demanded for the highest devotion, admiration and love of God. For devotion, admiration and love follow only from the excellency of the One beyond all the others."

3. "He is present everywhere, or everything is known to Him (He is omniscient). To suppose the things to be hidden from Him, or to ignore that He sees all and everything, would mean to doubt the righteousness of His all ruling Justice, or (even) to ignore the latter itself."

4. "He has the highest right and dominion over everything, not being necessitated by any right (of somebody else upon Him), but doing (all He does) out of an absolute free decree and a *singular*

⁴As far as I see, Maybaum (*Die Methodik des juedischen Religionsunterrichts*, p. 47, note) is the only one who mentions the dogmas formulated by Spinoza.

grace (singulari gratia). For all men (omnes) have to be absolutely obedient to Him, while He himself (needs to be obedient) to none."

5. "The worship of God, and the obedience to Him, consist only of Justice and Charity, or love of fellow-man."

6. "Only all those who are obedient to God by this way of living are saved, while the others who live under the dominion of enjoyments, are lost. For if men would not believe this firmly there would be no cause why they should prefer to be obedient to God, rather than to their passions."

7. "Finally, God forgives those who repent their sins. For there is none who would never sin, and had this not been established so, all would have despaired of their salvation; nor would there be any reason why they should believe God to be merciful; while he who believes this firmly, that is to say, that God forgives the sins of men out of mercy and grace, by which he rules all, and is inspired, therefore, greatly by the love of God, he really has recognized Christ according to the Spirit, and Christ dwells in him."

Compared with the dogmas of Crescas, we find that the *first* and the *second* dogma of Spinoza (existence and oneness of God) are contained in the *Great Root* of Crescas; the third (omniscience) is identical with the *first* Principle of the Torah; the *fourth* (right to and dominion over everything) contains the *second* and the *third* of the Principles of the Torah; the *fifth* (justice and charity exhausting the divine laws) is *parallel* to the *fourth* Principle of the Torah, Prophecy; the *fifth* Principle of Crescas (man's free will) is missing in the doctrine of Spinoza; the *sixth* dogma of Spinoza contains the *second* and *third* of the True Beliefs of Crescas (Immortality and Retribution), the first true Belief, *Creation*, being left out entirely; the *seventh* of Spinoza is identical with the *second* Belief attached to a commandment with Crescas. In the explanation of this dogma Spinoza returns to Crescas' Principles of the Torah, and brings Repentance in connection with the sixth Principle, the *Purpose*, the *Love* of God. This in full accordance with the discussion of this dogma in "Or Adonoi."

Says Crescas: "According to what was said in the Torah and explained by Tradition, it belongs to the *grace* of God to accept the

sinner when returning to Him; and our sages go still farther when they say that the place (the degree) on which the repentants stand is not accessible even to perfectly just men (who never did sin); or, in another passage, that the sins are reckoned to their (the repentants') merits. The reason for this is evident. The active force to induce the will to worship has to be very much stronger with him who is not inclined to worship until he was overpowered (by struggle with his opposite inclination) than with him who is inclined to worship without being overpowered previously. And, certainly, he with whom the overpowering force is stronger, would be *more devoted and more accepted*; since it is the active motive the effect of which is stronger, in our case the devotion and love (of God), which has to be supposed to be the stronger. And although there is no doubt that this (the acceptance of the repentants) is a *singular grace* on the part of God, it is in accordance with the (philosophic) speculation, as it was explained that God is the absolute Good, and that the Purpose He aims at is to do good—since, indeed, the Purpose of Creation and Revelation was nothing else" (than to do good; III tr., 2 sect., p. 64).

When we compare this passage with the exposition of this thought by Spinoza, we soon see that the passage in the Tractatus cannot be fully understood unless we conceive it as an *outline* of the passage quoted from "Or Adonoi."

The passage in the Original, Tractatus p. 164, reads: qui autem hoc firmiter credit, videlicet: Deum ex *miseriordia et gratia*, qua omnia dirigit, hominum peccata condonnare, et hac de causa in *dei amore magis incenditur*;—cf. Crescas: מחסדי השם יתברך לקבל החוטא בשובו אליו ראוי שיהיה יותר דבק ויותר רצוי, למה שהפועל לבח יותר חזק, שהוא הרבקות והאהבה, יצטרך, שיהיה יותר חזק שהענין הזה חסד נפלא ממנו יתברך

Spinoza begins his exposition of the dogmas with the declaration: "Moreover, I shall not hesitate to enumerate the dogmas of the universal faith" (*nec jam verebor fidei universalis dogmata . . . enumerare*). Indeed, there was nothing to fear: the way he was going to set out, was a well-beaten track, and it was a well proved guide whom he entrusted with the leadership. There is no room for any doubt that Spinoza while writing his

Tractatus had the book of "Or Adonoi" (probably the editio princeps, Ferrara 1555) *open before him* on his desk!

Spinoza *did not change even the successional order of the dogmas* established by Crescas, he only left out those which were not in accordance with his view, and changed others in order to adapt them to his standpoint. These eliminations and adaptations disclose the material relation between the standpoints of the two philosophers. Yet, we cannot understand this fully until we shall have seen the *literary and material dependence* of Spinoza upon the book of "Or Adonoi" in the *argumentation* of the dogmas:

The *double* way of argumentation adopted by Crescas, by *reason* and *Scripture*, or the *philosophic* and *exegetical* argumentation—is not original with him, it is the old method of Jewish philosophy from its very beginning (introduced by Saadya). The new feature with Crescas, however, is the special emphasis on the fact that the argumentation on the ground of biblical passages represents the *common sense*, the way of religious speculation accessible to every one, not presupposing any *special philosophic education*. The significance of this distinction for the basic ideas of the Tractatus we shall see later on. As for the present we call attention to the interesting fact that Spinoza took his argumentation of the dogmas from the common sense argumentation in the book "Or Adonoi," leaving out the philosophic one; with some exceptions, however.

The argument of the *first* dogma with Spinoza: who does not acknowledge the existence of God, cannot be obedient to Him—is taken from the "Premise" of Crescas in the Introduction: where there is no commander, there is no commandment. The second dogma Spinoza argues by introducing the *Love of God*: as there can be no doubt that the Love of God is an absolute demand, we must suppose God to be unique in excellency. These are almost literally the words of Crescas in the discussion of the Purpose. God is to be believed unique in His perfection, since worship has to be based on the Love of God, and "the greater the perfection, the greater is the Love of and the joy in the thing beloved" (II, tr., 6 sect., 1 ch., p. 40*b*; cf. also p. 41*a* at the beginning). Here Spinoza eliminated the allusion of Crescas to the dogma of Creation; we shall understand this later on. The *third* dogma, Omniscience,

Spinoza argues out of the discussion of the same dogma with Crescas. In his argument "according to the *roots of the Torah*" the latter says that all the stories and promises of the Holy Scripture have no ground unless we believe God to be omniscient (II tr., 1 sect., 1 ch., p. 20a.)

The *fourth* dogma, might and providence, Spinoza argues according to the argumentation of Crescas in "the explanation of this Principle according to the Torah," "that the Might of God is to be conceived infinite in every respect" (II, 3, 1 ch., at the beginning). The argumentation of this dogma is a special striking instance of Spinoza's dependence on Crescas. The words of Spinoza on this dogma are *entirely unintelligible*, both in the formulation of the dogma and in the argumentation of the same.⁵ The *formulation*: God is doing all He does out of an absolute free decree and a *singular grace*. As this refers to the divine *Justice* in the guidance of the world by Providence (*first* and *third* dogma), it is hard to realize how Spinoza came to the odd idea that *justice* is a *singular grace*. The common sense is inclined to think that justice is justice, not a grace, and a *singular grace* at that! Now, let us compare this with what Crescas says about Retribution in his commonsense argumentation: "Says the Psalmist: Thine, O Lord, is the *grace*, for Thou dost recompense man *according to his deeds*—the Psalmist is giving thanks for the grace of God that He recompenses man according to his deeds; that is to say, that the retribution is according to the strength of the obedient or disobedient, and not according to the strength of the Commander. For according to the strength of the Commander (man can never do his duty fully, and his claim for reward is but little),⁶ besides the divine grace he enjoyed in advance, as it was mentioned in its place. Likewise he who is disobedient, even in a less important matter, would have to suffer a punishment in the extremest measure. Thus it is evident that the fact of reward and punishment being according to the strength of man, and

⁵Ipsium in omnia supremum habere ius et dominium, nec aliquid iure coactum, sed ex absoluto beneplacito et *singulari gratia* facere. *Omnes enim ipsi absolute obedire tenentur, ipse autem nemini.*

⁶The text is lacking, I completed the sentence in brackets according to the context.

not according to the strength of the Commander, *means undoubtedly a grace*" (III tr., 3 sect., 1 ch., p 55a). It is understood, Spinoza could not enter into the merits of this homiletical discussion, yet he could not desist from using the outcome of the same. The *argumentation*: For (enim) all (men) have to be obedient to Him, while He needs to be obedient to none. This argument is a *logical monstrosity*. The duty of man's obedience to God *follows* from His having the highest right and dominion, and can by no means be used as an argument on which to base its own premise. The possibility of such a strange *petitio principii* with the pedantic logician Spinoza we will readily understand when compared with the discussion of this question in "Or Adonoi." Crescas arguing the infiniteness of the divine Might says: "Thus it is evident that it was the teaching of *Creation* according to Torah and Tradition which enlightened our eyes, additionally, in regard to this Principle. Namely, it will be made clear in the *third* tractate (1 sect., 5 ch., p 52a) in a manner leaving no room for any doubt that the Universe in its entirety was created by God absolutely in the way of Will, although there was nothing prior to it (cf. above). It is, then, evident that the Creator is doing his work without any *mutual relation* between Him and the creature; since his work does not depend except on (his own) Will. And as that is so, it is evident that He has no limited might. *For the limitation or the potentiality does not take place except because of a mutual relation between the acting force and its subject; consequently, since He (God) does all He does not having any mutual relation, he cannot be limited*" (in His might; II tr., 3 sect., 2 ch. at the beginning). We understand now the *peculiar idea* chosen by Spinoza in order to express the Omnipotence and the free Will of God, the idea of a *juridical relation*: God has the highest right, while He is not necessitated by any right of anybody else to Him. Who would think that anybody has any right, any juridical claim upon God? This strange manner of expression is intelligible only as the *translation* of the *mutual relation* from the *cosmological language* of Crescas into the *ethical language* of Spinoza. Spinoza using here the *philosophic* argument of Crescas was compelled to change the cosmological character of the relation under discussion, as being based on the Dogma of Creation *which he does not acknowl-*

edge, into its *ethical equivalent*. He begins in the language of Crescas with the right of God upon *everything* (omnia), an expression which in his doctrine of dogmas is entirely out of the way; since God as an Exemplar of the right life has nothing to do with the "things" of the world. It is, then, this mistake which Spinoza corrects in the *conclusion* when he changes "*everything*" (omnia) into "all men" (omnes); overlooking, however, that by this change also the logical conclusion was changed. The cosmological conclusion of Crescas is all right: Since there is no mutual relation between the *Creator* and the creature, there is nothing that we can suppose to be in the condition of limiting the free Will and the Might of God; consequently, the Will of God is absolutely free, and his Might is unlimited in every respect. The ethical conclusion of Spinoza is a *petitio principii* of the worst kind: Since all men have to be obedient to God, while He has not to be obedient to anybody, there is nothing which can be supposed to have any right upon God; consequently, He does all He does out of his free decree and has the highest right and dominion over everything. This conclusion is a strictly logical one, except the fatal circumstance that the *minor*⁷ hangs in the air. We must not forget that all preceding dogmas are waiting for the final basis in the Might of God. Yet it is just this dogma which Spinoza cannot prove by any reason intelligible to the commonsense. The premise of the due obedience presupposes the dogma of Creation as its basis. And as Spinoza does not acknowledge this teaching, and still would not desist from using the ideas of Crescas for his purpose, entirely different from that of his guide, he has arrived deservedly in a hopeless *circulus vitiosus*.

To the *fifth* dogma (worship is but charity) Spinoza does not add any argumentation. We shall understand this in the following development. The argument of the *sixth* dogma (Immortality and Retribution hereafter) namely, that the belief in this kind of retribution becomes a *motive* of obedience to the divine law, is taken from the commonsense argument of Crescas to the dogma of Retribution. Says Crescas: "As to the threatening of distress (to the

⁷The *major* is, as is usual in the dialectical argumentation, to be completed: Everything which does not have to be obedient to anything else, while every other thing has to be obedient to it, is free and possessed of the highest right.

sinner), besides the indication to him or to somebody else (implied in the punishment, *when fulfilled*), it belongs to its usefulness that it is a *convincing motive for the refusal* (הנצוה והערה) of the destructive Satan who (according to a talmudical saying) is identical with the Angel of Death and with the *Bad Will*" (III tr., 3 sect., 1 ch. at the beginning). The argumentation of the *seventh dogma* (Repentance) was spoken of above, still we have to add that also the fact that Spinoza supports this dogma through a double argument, is to be reduced to his pattern in "Or Adonoi": "Although it is beyond doubt," says Crescas in the continuation of the passage quoted above, "that this (the acceptance of repentants) is a *singular grace* on the part of God, it is in agreement also with the (philosophic) speculation: For since it was shown that God is the absolute Good, and that the aim He tends to is to do good (to His creatures), it is, then, *suitable that man be accepted* whenever he may turn to the right way, and awake from the sleep of his foolishness, so that it (the acceptance of the repentant) will become a motive to evoke in our own hearts love for Him" (III tr., 2 part, 2 sect., 1 ch.). It is evident that the whole explanation of this dogma by Spinoza consists of the elements of the passage just quoted. Crescas refers first, in the way of the commonsense argument, to the fact that the acceptance of repentants is a mere *grace* on the part of God. Then he adds a philosophic argument of two aspects; while Spinoza gives first two arguments which he gains by the simple dissolving of the argument of Crescas into its two aspects, adding afterwards the connection between repentance as a grace and the love of God out of Crescas' introduction to the argument.⁸

And now we come to the *omissions* in the enumeration of the dogmas by Spinoza when compared with those of Crescas.

As to the *essential dogmas* the *first omission* concerns the *third root* of the Great Root of Crescas, that of the *Incorporeality*, "that God is no body, nor a force in a body" (I tr., 3 sect., 5 ch. at the beginning). In the dogmas of Spinoza we do not find anything

⁸The phrase "singulāri gratia" which Sp. uses in the *fourth dogma*, is an *exact translation* of נפלא נפלא used by Crescas in this passage; cf. Tract III., p. 39, where Sp. translates ונפלינו "separabimur"; it is, then, in accordance with this to translate נפלא, as the compr. absol., "singularis".

about the question whether the substance of God is corporeal or not. Spinoza insists that the Holy Scripture does not state any determined opinion about this subject, moreover that its utterances as to this point contradict each other. Spinoza offensively blames Maimūni for his frank confession of his readiness to interpret the Holy Scripture always in the sense of the philosophic truth (M. N. II, 24), and with enthusiastic zeal, he, Spinoza, insists that we have to interpret the Bible always literally, no matter if the statement we gain by this interpretation be evident nonsense (Tractatus VII, p. 99). The prophets did not speak in *symbols*, they told the people only what they had *seen*, or what they *believed*. And what if they erred—and where they contradict each other, one at least was in error—what if even all of them erred? The belief of a man on this point is of no significance for the right way of living. And as the prophets contradict each other in their description of the appearance of God, it is evident that this point is of no dogmatical consequence.

The *second omission* concerns the dogma of *man's free will*. Also as to this point, Spinoza says, that the Holy Scripture does not teach any established view, and that in fact the prophets contradict each other. Consequently this question is out of the dogmatical discussion.

The *third omission* concerns the dogma of *Creation*. It was shown that Spinoza used chiefly the commonsense argument of Crescas. The reason for this self-restriction is given in the structure of the Tractatus; as we shall soon see. Yet we see now the deeper objective reason for that restriction. It was shown that almost all philosophic thoughts of Crescas are based on the outcome of the philosophic discussion of the dogma of Creation. And since Spinoza abandons this dogma, he cannot use the philosophic argument of his guide. And it was shown further that Spinoza while using sometimes the philosophic arguments of Crescas, is compelled to omit the allusion to this dogma, and that this manner of treatment of his main source misleads him occasionally to many a *logical salto mortale*.

As to the *historical dogmas*, as well as to the Opinions of Crescas, Spinoza omits all of them except that of Immortality, to which he

alludes at least in the *sixth* dogma. As to this point Spinoza is undoubtedly right: Since he aims only at the dogmas to be derived from the Holy Scripture, he cannot do otherwise than he does. And as far as the term Holy Scripture with Spinoza embraces the New Testament, too, he, indeed, alludes sometimes to the Christian dogmas, as f. i. to that of Messiah in the Christian sense of the word, in the explanation of the *seventh* dogma. It is, therefore, almost exclusively the *essential* dogmas in the conception and acceptance or rejection of which we have to ascertain the relation between Spinoza and his main source, Crescas.

The *key* to a thorough understanding of the omissions in Spinoza's enumeration of dogmas, moreover the key to the full appreciation of the "Tractatus" is the *fifth dogma* of Spinoza: true worship is but charity, in its relation to the *parallel dogma* of Crescas: *Prophecy*.

Spinoza's chief intention in the Tractatus (according to his declaration in the preface and, repeatedly, in the Tractatus itself) is to *mark out the boundaries* of the realm of philosophy, on the one side, and those of the realm of theology, on the other, in order to prevent mutual disturbance and interference with each other. Philosophy, according to the thesis Spinoza defends in this work, need not be the hand-maid of theology, even as the latter does not need its service, since the commonsense argument is sufficient for religious speculation. And as the conclusion in view was the demand of freedom for philosophy and its teachings, Spinoza was bound to show that the subjects in which theology is interested, are entirely different from those with which philosophy deals. He had to show that the *dogmas* of religion do not touch any philosophic question, even as philosophy has no interest in dogmas. The religious dogmas concern exclusively the realm of *Good and Evil*, while the subject of philosophy is concerned with the realm of the *True and False*.

With these thoughts in view, Spinoza looking for a proper pattern in Jewish mediaeval literature, recommendable because of his being acquainted therewith as well as because of its being sufficiently inaccessible to the reader of a Latin book, could not find any better one than the book of "Or Adonoi," the last prominent work of Jewish philosophy in the Middle Ages. (It goes without saying

that Spinoza could not expect to find such a pattern in the Christian dogmatical literature with which, for the rest, he was but little acquainted, besides its being accessible to all Latin readers). In the book of Crescas Spinoza found everything he needed for the composition of his contemplated work. First of all the emphasized statement that the dogmas of faith can be sufficiently based upon commonsense argumentation on the ground of the Holy Scripture and Tradition. Spinoza had only to reject the latter, and, in order to be quite assured, to blame it excessively—and the chief idea of his book was present. In the book of Crescas he found also the idea of separating the Principles of the Torah from the other dogmas. Spinoza differs from Crescas chiefly in his rejecting the dogma of Creation; yet even this he found well prepared in the book "Or Adonoi," in which this dogma was excluded from the Principles of the Torah. Spinoza having in view the distinction between the religious *life-conception*, interested only in *ethical* questions, and the philosophic *world-conception*, interested only in *cosmological* questions, found the first feature in Crescas' Principles of the Torah. For Crescas, while basing all his views on the outcome of the discussion on the dogma of Creation, justifies his exclusion of the latter from the Principles, by the consideration that the Torah is well imaginable without the dogma of Creation. Of course Spinoza deepened and enlarged this basic thought of Crescas. Still this does not weaken our thesis that Spinoza took the plan for the Tractatus out of the book of Crescas. The best way of defending this thesis is to show how adequately and exhaustively we can disclose the inmost structure of the Tractatus from our viewpoint:

Spinoza, determined to render the *formal distinction* of Crescas between the ethical Principles of the Torah and their cosmological basis a *real separation*, was compelled to begin the development of his thought with the discussion of the dogma of Prophecy. For it was this dogma on the field of which the first decisive battle had to be fought. Therefore Spinoza starts his Tractatus with *three chapters* about Prophecy, Prophets and the *Selection* of Israel. These three chapters are built up on the discussion of these questions in the book "Or Adonoi" (II tr., 4 sect., p. 30-34). The result of the discussion of prophecy with Spinoza is the declaration that *imagination*

is the *only source* of prophecy. And since among the imaginative visions certainly those of a non-prophetic nature are in the majority, there was need of a *sign* which verified the divine vision revealed to the prophet as a prophetic one. These visions the prophets perceive according to their individual state of mind, each of them on the ground of his knowledge and his beliefs, the latter being, so to say, the *private task* of the prophet as far and as long as those beliefs do not touch the ethical dogmas (formulated by Spinoza), however erroneous and even foolish or childish they may otherwise be; that is to say, inasmuch as only cosmological questions are concerned. Especially such is the case with regard to the *miracles*. A prophet called upon to perform a miracle is only a *medium* in the hand of God, while the connection of causes interfering, apparently, with the natural course of events is hidden from him. These ideas Spinoza could take from other Jewish sources, and from these he, indeed, drew so many an element inserted skillfully in the wide-ramified seams of the Tractatus (from the *More* of Maimuni and the works of other Jewish authorities; cf. Joël's exposition of the Tractatus). However, a careful comparison of the chapters under discussion with the relative portions in the book "Or Adonoi" leaves no room for any doubt that even when using other Jewish sources Spinoza did not weave the ideas taken therefrom into the thread of his own discussion until after he had controlled the final touch they received while passing the brain of Crescas. "Prophecy," this is the definition given by Crescas, "is an *emanation* giving to the *intelligence* of man, a *spirit of knowledge* flowing from God, through an intermediary or without any intermediary. (This spirit) gives man knowledge about subjects which he did not know before this, even without the premises from which this knowledge follows. And this knowledge concerns all matters (i. e. even the so-called *possible* ones), *with the purpose to guide* the prophet himself or others *in the right way*" (ibid. p. 30ab). In the following explanation of this definition Crescas declares that he emphasizes the word *intelligence* (שכל) with the view to lay stress upon the intelligence as the generic criterion of man, and to exclude *dreams and charms* from the significance of prophecy and revelation; that he further lays stress upon "even without the premises" in order to indicate that the prophet *can* gain

knowledge about things unknown to him before, and without performing logical operations on the ground of the natural sources of knowledge; and that, finally, it is only this logical operation that the prophet can neglect, while he must be in full possession of the "first (innate) ideas," flowing from the natural sources of knowledge. Of course, Crescas does not deny the dream as a means of prophetic revelation, since it is guaranteed in the Holy Scripture, and he treats the question how to distinguish between the prophetic dream and the non-prophetic one by a *sign*, since the sign itself may be the product of a delusive imagination; and he comes to the conclusion that there is a possibility of distinguishing the prophetic *sign* by the strong realizing intensity of the imagination in the prophetic dream, even as in general it is only the strong realizing intensity which marks a real perception, and assures the perceiver that he does not dream. The prophetic dream is a sort of *higher reality* (ibid. p. 33a). Now, let us add to these thoughts about prophecy the statement of Crescas "that the prophet does not know the *succession of causes* (ibid. 2 ch., p. 32a) in the events revealed to him or performed through him, and we have before us the prototype of Spinoza's doctrine of prophecy, as regards both the *agreement* with and the *opposition* to the views of Crescas. For we are now arrived at that point in which Spinoza emancipates himself from the influence of his master in order to get his own standpoint. We see Spinoza in agreement with Crescas in all criteria pointed out by Crescas except one: While Crescas lays special stress upon the *intelligence* as the very prophetic force, Spinoza insists that the prophetic revelation appeals but to the *imagination* alone, not exerting any influence upon the development of the intelligence, even as it makes no difference whether or not the prophet is in full possession of the "first ideas," the natural sources of knowledge. We know that Spinoza aims at this thought: The knowledge of intelligence is to be reserved as the exclusive domain of philosophy. Yet even after he has emancipated himself from Crescas in the most decisive material point, Spinoza remains under his literary influence. And it will be only after we shall have disclosed the further continuation of this influence that we shall be in position to perceive that material relation in its full significance.

Concluding the second chapter Spinoza quite ceremoniously justifies the fact that he is going to devote the third chapter to the question whether prophecy is a *special distinction of Israel*, and, in connection therewith, to the question of Israel's *Selection*. But we see now the true reason for this exposition: It was his pattern which suggested to him to take up this question in connection with prophecy; Crescas did so, and Spinoza did so, also. And by no means do we weaken this our statement when we add that the literary influence in the exposition evoked in Spinoza the feeling of the necessity to overcome Crescas on this point, too. In the beginning of the discussion on the dogma of prophecy Crescas declares prophecy to be a special distinction "of the commanded, the *nation* in its entirety" (4 sect., introduction); an idea which Crescas already emphasized repeatedly in the foregoing discussion (II tr., 2 sect., 1 ch. at the end; *ibid.* 6 ch.; *ibid.* 6 sect., 2 ch.). And this is the reason why Crescas endeavors to diminish the significance of prophecy with non-Israelites. Hence we shall understand the discussion of this question with Spinoza. He endeavors painfully to diminish the significance of Israel's Selection, denies offensively its claim upon prophecy as its special advantage, and he is, especially, all anger and wrath against those who venture to diminish the significance of Bileam, and, with an excessive zeal worthy of a better cause, he repeatedly praises Bileam to the effect that he was as pious and as dignified as all the other prophets, and by no means less than those of Israel. "We see, then," concludes Spinoza, "that he (Bileam) was a *true prophet*, and, if still he is called "Kosem" (קוסם), which means "diviner" or "augur," by Joshua (13, 22), it is evident that this word is to be taken in a good sense, too . . . for which reason we conclude that the gift of prophecy was not peculiar to the Jews, but common to all nations. The Pharisees, however, zealously emphasize that this divine gift was peculiar to their nation alone, while the other nations were divining future events out of I do not know what diabolic virtue (is there anything superstition could not invent?" (p. 39). This anger seems to be entirely out of place. Was it not just Bileam as to whom the "Pharisees" said: "Only in Israel there was no prophet like Moses, while there was such among the Gentiles?" And again we understand this readily when we read the relative passage in

"Or Adonoi": "And this is meant," says Crescas, "when the sages say: 'Only in Israel there was no prophet like Moses, while there was such among the Gentiles.' By this statement they indicate that the prophecy of Bileam was *out of the natural (usual) order*; since the prophetic perception presupposes just such virtues and perfections as those in which *that miscreant* (אותו הרשע) was lacking. And this is the reason why the *Scripture names him "Kosem,"* and *it was only in the way of miracle and wonder* that he prophesied while with Balak, because of Providence for Israel that he might not curse it" (II tr., 4 sect., 3 ch., p 33a). We know, then, who is meant by the "Pharisees" who dared to offend the reputation of Bileam as a prophet.

Out of his opposition to Crescas in the conception of prophecy and the Selection of Israel, and on the ground of the basic thought in Crescas' formulation of the Principles of the Torah as being actually of mere ethical significance, Spinoza in the two following chapters (the fourth and the fifth) comes to the conclusion that the true "Divine Law" is in accordance with the "Natural Law," that is to say, the "Ethical Law"; while the religious laws were given only to Israel, and even to it only while in its own land, and while enjoying its own independent state. And with the thought in view to eliminate the cosmological dogma of Creation from the series of dogmas, he demonstrates further that the narrative portions of the Bible are of no dogmatical consequence, being out of relation to the ethical laws, to the fulfillment of which all mankind is called upon. Or, as Spinoza formulates elsewhere this idea: "The whole Scripture was revealed first for the use of the whole (Israelitish) Nation, and afterward for that of all mankind" (Tract. V, p. 63 . . . tota Scriptura in usum integrae nationis prius, et tandem universi humani generis revelata fuerit), not realizing that by this statement he concedes the Selection of Israel in its loftiest meaning. And this being so, Spinoza concludes in the continuation of the passage just quoted, since the Scripture was revealed to the entire people of Israel, nay, to all mankind, it is evident that the stories of the Bible are but adapted to the grasp of the uneducated people, in order to make the ethical laws intelligible to them, while to the educated ones who are capable of understanding the ethical laws

without those stories, the latter are by no means a matter of belief. Consequently, Spinoza concludes, somewhat illogically, the stories are not a matter of belief at all, even for the uneducated people, for whose sake they are told.

With this statement, Spinoza has arrived at the decisive viewpoint of the *Tractatus*, and we might expect to see him finally enter upon the merits of the same. But he does not do so, he devotes the next chapter (the sixth) to the question of *miracles* in the Bible. To the attentive reader it is evident that the intercalation of the discussion on the miracles interrupts the logical thread of the exposition, and that the *transition* by which Spinoza returns to take up the interrupted thread, is an obviously *artificial* one. We know the reason for this loose exposition: Crescas treats the miracles in connection with the dogma of prophecy; consequently also Spinoza was psychologically bound in this way. Instead of the general formula which he really aims at, and which he makes previously and afterwards the main thesis he defends—instead of the general formula that the dogmatical significance of a biblical teaching is to be found out from the viewpoint of *literary historical criticism*, he gives only a special instance of it: The *miracles* are to be perceived from the viewpoint of the *writers* of the relative portions of the Bible. To this discussion, the most important and valuable of the whole *Tractatus*, Spinoza sets out with a strange calumny addressed to his beloved ones, the “Pharisees.” All miracles mentioned in the Bible, Spinoza says, had natural causes. But if we find there some miracles in absolute collision with natural law, or one which cannot be explained by natural causes, “then,” he says literally, “we have plainly to be convinced that it was interpolated into the Holy Writ by sacrilegious people” (*plane credendum id a sacreligis hominibus Sacris literis adjectum fuisse*). This is not the only time in the *Tractatus* that the suppressed anger and hatred against his brethren in Judaism crops out, and it is not the only time that he suspects the “Pharisees” of purposely falsifying the Holy Scripture. But we will learn from the philosopher of the famous “*nil admirari*” not to be astonished, when we see him even somewhat overzealous in paying his tribute to human nature. And we are willing to do so, the more, as we are now to point to the really

grand achievement of Spinoza in the *Tractatus*. True, the elements of biblical criticism Spinoza found ready before him in Jewish literature to a larger extent than he is willing to confess (cf. Joël's exposition), yet, it was he who united those elements into a scientific system of criticism which, in spite of its many defects, does not cease to deserve our full admiration even today, in the era of hyper-criticism. True, it was the dogmatical viewpoint of Crescas from which Spinoza was led to use his materials for biblical criticism, gathered some years before, for establishing the historico-critical viewpoint as the only decisive one in dogmatical research on biblical times. But, after all, it was he who found the way from the speculative aspect to the historico-critical.

To the development of this his new viewpoint, Spinoza devotes the following five chapters (7-11), the last of them, however, dealing with the *New Testament*, the thorough criticism of which he escapes, not very skillfully, under the pretext of having heard that this task is to be done by another scholar better prepared for it. Spinoza comes to the conclusion that according to the state in which the Bible came down to us, and according to conditions of historical research at his time, there is no hope for great success in the endeavor to present the historical development of the Bible. Yet, as far as he can see, the biblical books have passed through many hands. Especially decisive is the fact that the original of the first "Book of the Covenant," written by Moses, Exodus 20, 22-c, 24, and increased by Joshua (cf. 24, 25. 26), is gone (VIII, p. 108, and passim). In this state of affairs, so Spinoza concludes in the following two chapters (12 and 13), there is only one way to find out the teachings dogmatically significant: We have to find out those teachings in regard to which all portions of the Bible are in full agreement, and not displaying any contradiction, or any controversy. And these are the *ethical laws* alone. The ethical laws in the Bible are in its different portions the same, not having been altered by all the happenings that they had to undergo. These laws represent the very "Word of God," the contents of the true Book of Covenant. They are also plain and simple, accessible to all people, not presupposing any philosophic education or capability of getting it.

Now we have arrived at our starting point, at the enumeration of

the dogmas in chapter fourteen which, we have seen, was aimed at in the whole foregoing discussion. And now we understand why Spinoza does not add any explanation to the fifth dogma (Worship is but justice and charity). This dogma is the *outcome* of the research in the previous thirteen chapters. And this fact discloses a new aspect in Spinoza's dependence on Crescas. The fifth dogma, as the outcome of the foregoing discussion, we could expect at the first, or at least in the second place, after the dogma of God as being the exemplar of the right life. Yet Spinoza, following Crescas, returns in the succession of the dogmas to the order established in the book "Or Adonoi." And we must say that the order in the latter is more systematic and logical than in the Tractatus. For not only in the enumeration, but also in the discussion of the same, the dogmas concerning the God-conception have to be taken up and dismissed prior to the dogma of prophecy, or the right way of man's worship. For it is, as intimated above, the dogma of prophecy to which the fifth dogma of Spinoza is *paralleled*. Out of his opposition to Crescas' teaching on prophecy Spinoza came to his formulation of the fifth dogma, and it was a sort of a psychological motive compelling Spinoza to put this dogma just in the place corresponding to that of prophecy in the system of Crescas. Likewise the seventh dogma furnishes one more evidence of Spinoza's dependence on Crescas: While the other dogmas are naturally treated in the foregoing discussion, although not systematically, that of *Repentance* was not treated at all. And still Spinoza counts it a dogma simply because he found it so in the system of "Or Adonoi," the only one in Jewish philosophy in which the commandment of Repentance is considered as a special dogma. Still more striking is the evidence in the last portion of the chapter (XIV) under discussion: With the view to expound now the consequence of his doctrine of dogmas, and to show that the spheres of theology and philosophy are outside of each other, the subject of the following six concluding chapters (XV-XX), Spinoza cannot depart from the dogmas until after he has justified the *omissions* he made on his pattern, and he treats the omitted dogmas, or certain aspects of those accepted, in the *same succession*, as he has found them in Crescas. After he has explained the dogmas and

added that to give up one of them means necessarily to give up the obedience to God, he continues: "For the rest, *what* God, or that exemplar of the right life, is: that is to say, *fire, spirit, light, or thought*, or what not; this (question) has nothing to do with faith," this in opposition to the third root of the Great Root of Crescas, the incorporeality of God. "Even as," Spinoza continues, (faith has nothing to do with the question), "*for which reason* God is the exemplar of the right life, that is to say, whether because he is possessed of a just and merciful soul (the reason given by Spinoza), or because all the things are *being and acting through Him*" this second reason is in the direction of the cosmological dogma of Creation on which Crescas bases the Principles. Spinoza after he had neglected this reason in the very explanation of the dogmas thus intimates his *philosophic* view, expounded later in the "Ethics." "Further," Spinoza continues, "it does not concern the faith whether one believes God omnipresent according to his essence, or according to his might"—the former being the philosophic (pantheistic) view of Spinoza, the latter that of Crescas "that the divine knowledge is identical with the divine essence," the latter being spiritual, and identical with the divine might (II tr., 1 sect., 4 ch., p. 23a) "Further," Spinoza continues, (it has nothing to do with faith, if one believes) "that God guides all out of a free, or out of a *necessitated* nature; that He prescribes commandments as a Ruler, or He teaches eternal truths (as a teacher); that man is obedient to God out of his *free will*, or out of *necessity* by the divine decree; and, finally, that the reward of the good and the punishment of the bad is *natural* (in this world), or supernatural (in the world hereafter)" In the first and third of these four questions the difference between Crescas and Spinoza is only a *formal* one: Crescas lays stress upon the term *free Will* in regard to God, and counts man's free will a dogma, although his very philosophic conviction covers the necessitation in regard to both, God and man; while Spinoza speaks only of "an absolute decree" with God, and omits the dogma of man's free will. In the matter itself both are in agreement, and still in the question of the divine Will there is a difference in principle, following from the difference in the question of the substance, and that of Creation, both to be discussed soon hereafter. In the second

of these four questions Spinoza evidently opposes Crescas' conception of prophecy, and, finally, in the fourth, he opposes the large discussion about the necessity of retribution in the world hereafter (III tr., 5 sect., 4 and 5 ch.); though Spinoza himself alludes to this in his sixth dogma. It seems that this allusion aims at capturing benevolentiam of Christianity, as many an expression in the Tractatus does; even as the mention of *Repentance* was, apparently, welcome to Spinoza because of its being a dogma in Christianity.

Now, we are in position to formulate *the difference* in the *philosophic principle* underlying their relative doctrines of dogmas:

The original difference corresponds to the first omission Spinoza made in the doctrine of Crescas while accepting the same as his pattern; consequently the difference concerns the *substance* of God. The Spirituality of the divine substance, the exaltedness of the same above all corporeality, is the unshaken pillar of the system of Crescas. Therefore also the Omniscience of God preserves its original true meaning in the system of Crescas. And as this is so, the dogma of Creation, too, preserves some dogmatically significant meaning. Creation with Crescas is not the same as with the prophets of old, and even not as with many medieval Jewish philosophers, but still it has a profound philosophic meaning. True, Creation with Crescas is an *eternal issue out of necessity*, but inasmuch as there is a difference between the substance of God, the Creator, and that of the creatures, the Creation means something. In the discussion of the dogma of Creation says Crescas: "There is no escape from (the necessity to posit) the issue of corporeal being out of nothing from Him (from the spiritual divine substance); this even according to the adherents of the eternity (of the world)" (III tr., 1 sect., 5 ch., 52a). Even according to the adherents of the eternity of the world! No doubt Crescas is one of those who believe in the eternity of the world, and still he has a right to speak of a dogma of Creation, and to base thereon the essential ones, the Principles of the Torah. It was emphasized above, that the distinction between Principles and True Beliefs with Crescas is merely a formal one. Look away from the frame of the dogmatical doctrine and take into consideration the general standpoint of Crescas as a philosopher, and you will find that this distinction means only a mere logical analysis of the

inmost syllogistic succession in the literary presentation of the system. For we have to be warned against understanding the idea of "issue out of necessity" with Crescas in the sense of the neo-platonic theory of *emanation*. We are careful to translate the word "Atsiluth" (אצילות) used by Crescas by "issue," and not by "emanation,"² as is usual, because it would be a gross mistake to think Crescas an adherent of the neo-platonic theory of emanation. We will gain a thorough understanding of the basic thought of Crescas' system in our reconstruction of the same in the third volume of my German work *History of Jewish Philosophy in the Middle Ages*. As for the present it is sufficient to point to what was said there, that Crescas is the *Maimuni* of the post-Maimunian period,⁹ and to add a brief explanation thereof: The issue of the corporeality from the spiritual substance of God with Crescas means the *sublimation of the material principle into its spiritual root*. This is the standpoint of *Maimuni* from which, however, Crescas deviates as to the aspect of *necessity*; according to Maimuni the issue of corporeality from God being (though eternal) out of an absolute free Will in the truest meaning of this term. And still even Crescas has a right to speak of the divine free Will. It is not free will in the strict sense of *liberum arbitrium*, yet since the knowledge and Omniscience of God are meant in the true meaning of that term, there is a subtle philosophic distinction to posit the divine Will free on the ground of the all-embracing *divine Consciousness* which sustains the Universe, permeating it in every turn of individual being.

This leads us to the point at which the *philosophic system* of Spinoza springs from the system of Crescas. *Maimuni*, *Crescas* and *Spinoza* present three links of a special chain in the development of philosophy. The sublimation of the material principle into its spiritual root, it will be shown in the said work, means the *absolute possibility* of the corporeal mode of being. Therefore the dogmas of Omnipotence, Providence and man's free will are to be understood in a real philosophic sense, even as Maimuni does, although not entirely in the traditional sense of those terms. Crescas, therefore, combining the

⁹Geschichte der juedischen Philosophie des Mittelalters, Georg Reimer, Berlin, 1907, p. 243; as to Crescas in general cf. there p. 47, 78, 135, 179, 239, 244, 246.

sublimation of the material principle with necessity, and saving the said three dogmas only linguistically, giving up their real meaning in the system of Maimuni, has built his system on a *contradiction in the principles*. It was, then, this inmost contradiction to escape which Spinoza gave up the spiritual root of the corporeal being, *turning the principle of Maimuni into its opposite*. On the one side the system of Maimuni is harmonious in itself, because it presents the sublimation of the material principle into its spiritual root with its strict logical consequence, free will; on the other side, the system of Spinoza is harmonious in itself, because it presents the reduction of the spiritual principle to its material root with its strict logical consequence, the strictest determinism; the intermediate link being presented by the system of Crescas, because it combines the premise of Maimuni with the conclusion of Spinoza. For look away from the well molded *theological language* of Spinoza, and the basic thought of his "Ethics" reads as following:

The *only being* is *eternal matter*, unlimited in time and undivided in space (for there is no emptiness in endless space), all individual beings, *including man with his intellectual capacity*, being merely *different modes of being*, the appearance of which are the effects of the proportions of movement and rest within that unique matter bearing its eternal laws in itself.

Thus it is evident that the three omissions in the enumeration of dogmas are three open doors leading from Spinoza's doctrine of dogmas into his philosophic system: One can believe that God is a body; one can believe that the world is not created; one can believe that man is necessitated in all his doings. These three omissions form the three basic principles of the system of Spinoza in his "Ethics."

The two standard works of Spinoza, both taken together, and considered in their relation to the book "Or Adonoi," *present the two manners of argumentation* of Crescas. The "*Tractatus*" is built on the ground of Crescas' commonsense and biblical argumentation, the "*Ethics*" on that of his philosophic argumentation.

Such is the strong influence of Crescas upon Spinoza. And as the *Tractatus* was the pattern for many and many theologico-political treatises, (among others for the "*Jerusalem*" of Mendelssohn)

and since further the arguments for the *separation of State and Church* in the modern movement are mostly taken from the arsenal of this literature—we see that the influence of the last great work of Jewish philosophy in the Middle Ages has become a strong and decisive force not only in philosophy, but in the recent development of culture and politics, too.

III.

EXCURSUS

ON

URIM VE-THUMMIM, CHOSHEN, AND GORAL.

INTRODUCTION.

The great achievement of Spinoza in the *Tractatus*, the viewpoint of Biblical criticism as decisive on the dogmatical position of the teachings of the Holy Scripture, was partly neutralized by the artificial manner in which he forced this thought into the frame of his special theologico-political purposes. The supposition of Spinoza that the Bible aims only at an ethical life-conception, not paying attention to the opinions of the believer in cosmological questions, is untenable, nay, absurd. In my Hebrew treatise, "Life-conception and World-conception" (Cracow, 1903), I have shown that the original life-conception of Judaism implied the later development into a comprehensive ethico-cosmological world-conception. And what has been shown in the said treatise in the way of *theoretical speculation* was accredited and established by the *historico-critical* exposition in my "*History of Dogmas in Judaism.*" Spinoza proves (XIII, p. 157) his statement by the words of *Jeremiah*, (9, 23; 22, 15) that God demands from man but "justice and charity." Yet in the work just mentioned it has been shown that it was just *Jeremiah* who started decisively the cosmological complement of the ethical Monotheism. Spinoza did not overlook the cosmological elements in the Bible. He concedes that *Adam* and *Moses* believed that God created the world (II, p. 23, 25), though using the word "*opifex*," which at any rate *admits* the translation "creator" only as to *Adam*;

while as to Moses he says that he believed "this Being (God) to have brought this visible world *from Chaos into order*" (hoc ens mundum hunc visibilem ex Chao in ordinem redigisse). Moreover, in one passage, styling prelusively the speculative opinions aimed at by some portions of Holy Scripture, he counts the opinion "that there is a God, or a Being, which created everything" (V, p. 63: dari Deum, sive ens, quod omnia fecit). Nevertheless he not only eliminated the Creation from the number of the dogmas, but also excluded it purposely. Probably he does not consider the teaching of Creation an accredited part of the Bible in regard to which there is no suspicion of falsifying. And therewith we touch the insufficiency of the critical viewpoint as held by Spinoza. Spinoza saw only one "Book of the Covenant," while there are *three*. Spinoza considered his "true Book of the Covenant" *the last word* of Revelation, while we know that the first Book of the Covenant was *abolished*; and that it was the last two Books of the Covenant that represented Judaism in the most decisive periods of its historical development; that it was especially the *last Book of the Covenant*, the *Priestly Code* (increased by the Book of Holiness), which has given Judaism its pregnant characteristic in which it came down to us. And it was just this Biblical source, the Priestly Code, which introduced the cosmological dogma of Creation into authoritative Judaism.

In accordance with the view just expounded I have treated the dogmatical problem in Judaism in the said work from the comprehensive viewpoint of an ethico-cosmological world-conception, inquiring with regard to every teaching into its literary origin and into its historical position and significance; no matter whether the relative teaching concerns mere ethical or cosmological questions. The present Excursus is one special inquiry of that kind, evoked by the statement of Crescas, that Urim ve-Thummim are of dogmatical significance in Judaism. Spinoza does not quote Crescas, he does not display that he is working after a pattern, and refutes the views of Crescas merely by omission and silence. But had he revealed the deep incognito of his pattern, and had he preferred to fight with an open visor, his viewpoint would not have sufficed to refute the opinion of Urim ve-Thummim being a dogma in Judaism. For if the human understanding is not capable of finding out the ethical laws

by means of itself, and it needs therefore the Revelation even with regard to the most evident ethical postulates, how much more does it need a special revelation in complex ethical questions and collisions so numerous in public affairs. Urīm ve-Thummim would be, then, quite an *ethico-religious demand*. In other words: had we to preserve the mystic conception of Revelation, and to separate it from the *true unique source* by which God speaks unto man, *the human understanding*, then the doors of authoritative Judaism would be widely open for Urim ve-Thummim and other superstitions of every kind.

In contrast to this, our historico-critical viewpoint makes it possible to show that the development of authoritative Judaism was going in the direction of *abolishing* all superstitions and removing them from its institutions and dogmatical documents. This has been shown in the said work as to Angelology and other superstitions. Especially has it been shown, that such is the case as to the last Book of the Covenant, the Priestly Code. It has been shown that the passages introducing the *Cherubim* into the Tabernacle which were ascribed to this source by the critics, are in reality *later interpolations*; even as such is the case with regard to other passages erroneously ascribed to the same, e. g., those in which God appears as *purposely hardening the heart of Pharaoh*, and the like.

The chief aim of this Excursus, accordingly, is to show that the whole matter of Urim ve-Thummim is a later, nay, the latest, interpolation in the portions of the Torah belonging to that source. This, however, leads us to an inquiry into other biblico-critical questions on the decision of which depends the final outcome of our research.

I.

THE CHOSHEN (BREASTPLATE).

Since the dogmatical significance of a teaching or an institution is to be decided according to its being present, or missing, in the two later Books of the Covenant, especially in the last, the Priestly Code, the opinion of Crescas that the Urim ve-Thummim was an institution of great dogmatical importance seems to be very probable,

when we become aware of the fact that just the Priestly Code is the *only main source* of the Torah (Deuter. 33 not being considered as such) in which we find this institution. But the other fact, that the author of this source always omits as far as possible all superstitions and suspicious institutions he has found in the sources he draws from, makes our conjecture quite probable in advance, namely, *that the whole matter of Urim ve-Thummim is a later interpolation*. In order to show this we must pay attention to the *Choshen* first.

As to the institution of the Urim ve-Thummim itself there cannot be any doubt that in the ancient time there was something like that, though in old sources we find *only Urim* without Thummim (cf. 1 Sam., 28, 6, and, perhaps, also Isaiah 24, 14). At any rate they had a certain sort of *Oracle*, the priest wearing the *Ephod*, whenever intermediating; sometimes through T'raphim, (cf. the passages to be intimated soon after). But not the historical fact of the *quasi prehistorical* institution is to be questioned, the question we have to deal with concerns only the attitude of the authoritative Judaism of the *second* and *third* Covenant to this institution. And as in the *second* Book of the Covenant, Deuteronomy-proper, we do not find any allusion to this institution, the question concerns exclusively the third Book of the Covenant, the Priestly Code. In this source we find the Urim ve-Thummim framed within the *Choshen*, and our conjecture of the former being a later interpolation will be more probable, once it will have been shown *that the Choshen itself is a later interpolation*:

1. In general it is evident to the attentive reader of Exodus 28 that the *Choshen* is but the *shadow of the Ephod*. In ancient accounts we find that the priests were "wearing" (נושא) the *Ephod*, or that they were "girded" (הגיר) with the same, while we *do not find the slightest allusion to the Choshen*, neither in the early times nor in the Temple of Solomon (cf. Judges 8, 27; 17, 5; 18, 14, 17, 18, 20; 1 Sam. 2, 18, 28; 14, 3; 21, 10; 22, 18; 23, 6, 9; 30, 7; 2 Sam. 2, 6, 14; 1 Chr. 15, 27, and also Hosea 3, 4; Isaiah 30, 22).

2. Moreover even in the Book of *Joshua* we do not find any mention of the *Choshen*, although there was many an opportunity for it, (cf. below). This is an evident indication that the *Choshen* was

not mentioned in the Priestly Code when used by the (final) "redactor" of the Book of Joshua.

3. More striking is the result of a thorough test of the passage under discussion. To anticipate the same: In the original of the Priestly Code there was *only the Ephod*, the Choshen being a *later*, and the Urim ve-Thummim the *latest interpolation*.

The passage reads:

Exodus 28, 6. "And they shall make the Ephod of gold . . . 9. And thou shalt take two onyx stones, and grave on them the names of the children of Israel. 10. Six of their names on one stone . . . 11. . . . thou shalt make them to be set in ouches of gold. 12. And thou shalt put the two stones upon the shoulders of the Ephod *for stones of memorial unto the children of Israel, and Aaron shall bear their names before God upon his two shoulders for a memorial* . . . 15. And thou shalt make the Breastplate of Judgment with cunning work; *after the work of the Ephod thou shalt make it*, of gold, of blue . . . 17. And thou shalt set in it settings of stone, even four rows of stones . . . 20. . . . They shall be set in gold in their inclosings. 21. And the stones shall be with the names of the children of Israel, twelve, according to their names . . . according to the twelve tribes . . . 25. And the *other* two ends of the two wreathen chains thou shalt fasten in the two ouches, and put them in the shoulder-pieces of the Ephod before it . . . 27. And the *other* rings of gold thou shalt make, *and shalt put them on the two sides of the Ephod underneath*, toward the forepart thereof, over against the *other* coupling thereof, above the curious girdle of the Ephod. 28. And they shall bind the Breastplate by rings thereof *unto the rings of the Ephod* with a lace of blue, that it may be above the curious girdle of the Ephod, *and that the Breastplate be not loosed from the Ephod*. 29. *And Aaron shall bear the names of the children of Israel in the Breastplate of Judgment upon his heart, when he goeth in unto the Holy, for a memorial before God, continually.*"

a. Before we enter into the criticism-proper of this passage we call attention to the evident deviation from the *general prescription*

which appears in the *detailed ones*. The former reads (v. 4): "And "these" are the garments which they shall make: a *Breastplate*, and an *Ephod*, and a *Robe*, and a bordered *Coat*, a *Mitre*, and a *Girdle*." Thus in the general prescription the Choshen is *prior* to the Ephod, while in the detailed we have seen the opposite succession, so that the Choshen *interrupts* the connection of the *Ephod* with "*the Robe of the Ephod*." The *Plate* in the verses 36-38 is *entirely new, introduced* into the detailed prescription, *not having been mentioned* in the general at all; and at that, the *Plate* is shifted in between the *Robe* and the *Coat*, and anticipating the *Mitre* prior to its being mentioned in the detailed prescription in verse 39. All of these are irregularities which indicate undoubtedly, that this passage went through several hands, and that it was reduced to its final shape over and above its original one.

But we have to test the detailed prescription of the Ephod and the Choshen, chiefly:

b. It is evident that the intention of the names-memorial is sufficiently complied with by the stones of the Ephod, thus the memorial stones of the Choshen being *entirely superfluous*, and, consequently, presenting merely a double of the Ephod. The verses 12, 29 and 30 (U. ve-Th.) are *paralleled*, all fit to *replace* each other. At any rate, the verses 12 and 29 indicate beyond doubt that originally the Ephod and the Choshen were not conceived at once. For were this so, certainly there would have been sufficient *one concluding verse* pointing out that the intention connected with the stones on the shoulders and the heart of the Highpriest is that of their being memorial stones before God.

c. Decisive in this question is the *inner structure* of the detailed prescriptions concerning the Ephod and the Choshen themselves: In verse 11 we read the prescription: "thou shalt make them to be set in ouches of Gold," followed by the *concluding sentence* in verse 12 pointing out the purpose of the Ephod stones: "that Aaron shall bear their names before God upon his two shoulders for a memorial." It is evident that by this summing up the whole matter of the Ephod is *exhausted* and *dismissed*. Yet behold, soon in the following verse (13) we read: "And thou shalt make ouches of gold!"

To what end is this prescription repeated after it was given in its right place, in verse 11? There cannot be any more doubt that it was an interpolator who was compelled to such a strange construction, because he had *to add something* to the ouches: "the wreathen chains," in verse 14, which he needed for binding the Choshen unto the Ephod. The chains of the Ephod in verse 14 are parallel to the chains of the Choshen in the verses 22, 24 and 25.

d. Still more striking is the manner in which the connection of Choshen and Ephod "underneath" is introduced. In the Ephod work we do not find any mention of "rings of gold" "on the two shoulder pieces of the Ephod underneath," but we find the prescription thereof in verse 27, *in connection with the Choshen work*. Indeed, the Ephod work was completely exhausted, not having any need of rings. The interpolator needed them to the end "that the Choshen *be not loosed* from the Ephod" and he added them "with a liberal eye." It is as clear as day: Were the Choshen genuine in the Priestly Code, the writer would have mentioned the chain above and the rings underneath while describing the Ephod-work itself, and not the former as an afterthought following the concluding remark, introduced by the repetition of a dismissed prescription, and the latter in the Choshen work as a "*forgotten sheaf*," in the last moment, while just needed.

e. The same we find in Exod. 39, 2-21: The rings of the Ephod are supplied in the Choshen work, v. 20. But here the interpolator apparently *has forgotten* to supply the *chains* (cf. vv. 15-18)! Also as to the emphasis of the character of the stones as *memorial* ones he was not careful enough and left it out with the Choshen (cf. vv. 7, 14, 21; cf. also below II, 5).

Finally, the prescription of "and be not loosed" bespeaks itself as a "novelty;" we are to return to this point.

II.

URIM VE-THUMMIM.

If the Choshen is a later interpolation, the Urim ve-Thummim are likewise. But it can be shown that the latter were interpolated still later than the Choshen:

1. It was already intimated above that the bearing of the "Choshen of *Judgment*" on the heart by the Highpriest in verse 29, and the bearing of the "Judgment of the children of Israel" on the heart by the same are parallel to and fit to replace each other. Indeed, the attentive reader cannot escape the conclusion that the "Judgment of the children of Israel" is but the *shadow* of the "Choshen of Judgment."

2. *The Urim and the Thummim* (את האורים ואת התמים)! *What* is Urim, and what Thummim, and, finally, what both together? If the prescription of Urim ve-Thummim is genuine in the Priestly Code, the writer of the same would have undoubtedly explained *what* they are, *of what*, and *how* they are to be made. By no means would he have relied upon what is generally known. Indeed, in the context of the Priestly Code there is nothing known before; quite on the contrary, everything, every detail in the prescription concerning the Tabernacle and its entire equipment, including the garments of the priests, is *completely new*. The *article* indicates beyond doubt that the Urim ve-Thummim were spoken of above. Indeed, they were spoken of above—in the source out of which they have been drawn and inserted into our passage. In the Torah we do not find any mention of them before this.

3. Exodus 35, 27: "And the rulers brought onyx stones, and stones to be set, for the Ephod, and for the Choshen" (cf. 35, 9). And what about the Urim ve-Thummim? *Who* brought something for them, and *what* was brought? Were they an *old heirloom* among the tribes of Israel? Surely, there was something like that; even as such was the case with the *Ark*. But can we suppose the writer of the Priestly Code to have admitted this: why then does he give such detailed prescription for the *Ark*?

4. *Exodus* 39, 2-21, the narrative that the work has been done according to the commandment of God through Moses (cf. above, I, 3, e); concluding, verse 21: ". . . and that the Choshen might not be loosed from the Ephod, *as God commanded Moses*," the latter words alluding to 28, 28, not betraying any acquaintance with the Urim ve-Thummim in 28, 30! We are to return to this passage soon again.

5. The same we see in the *Consecration ceremonial*: a. Exodus 29, 5: "And thou shalt take the garments and put upon Aaron the coat, and the robe of the Ephod, and the *Ephod* (and the Choshen), and gird him with the curious girdle of the Ephod"—no word of Urim ve-Thummim!

b. True, in Leviticus 8, 7, 8 the Urim ve-Thummim is mentioned, too; but let us test this passage: v. 7: "And he (Moses) put upon him (Aaron) the coat, and girded him with the girdle, and clothed him with the robe, and put the Ephod upon him; and he girded him with the curious girdle of the Ephod, and bound it unto him therewith. 8. And he put the Choshen upon him (or *it*: the Ephod?), also he put into the Choshen the Urim ve-Thummim." Thus it was not until *after* the Ephod had been put upon Aaron that the Urim ve-Thummim were put into the Choshen. This is in *apparent contradiction* with Exodus 28, 28, and, especially, with Ex. 39, 21 (cf. above): "And they did bind the Choshen by its rings unto the rings of the Ephod with a lace of blue, that it might be above the curious girdle of the Ephod, and that the Choshen might not be loosed from the Ephod; as God commanded Moses." This account leaves no room for any doubt that the Choshen had to be and was bound unto the Ephod *soon after both had been finished*, and that the prohibition of "that might not be loosed" was effective even before the Consecration ceremonial. For this strong contradiction there is only *one* explanation. The first half-verse 8: "And he put the Choshen upon him" was inserted by the Choshen interpolator; while the Urim ve-Thummim interpolator did not care for completing the Consecration ceremonial in his sense. But in a later time some writer (or scribe) felt this lack and completed it plainly in the way he did, overlooking, however, that this is in contradiction with the main passages introducing the Choshen.

c. And now we will understand another remarkable phenomenon: In the passage Ex. 29, 5 quoted above, it is evident that the words we have put into brackets, "and the Choshen," *interrupt* very sensibly the context. For it is understood that the words under discussion mean to put the Choshen upon Aaron after the Ephod had been put upon him, in the sense of Lev. 8, 8; thus in contradiction to Lev.

8, 7, according to which the girdle of the Ephod had to be tightened *before* putting the Choshen upon Aaron. And again the only explanation I see, is that the Choshen interpolation in the prescription of the Consecration ceremonial, Ex. 29, 5, was accomplished later than that in the account of the performance of the same, Lev. 8, 7. Thus this would be one more indication that the Choshen is a later interpolation. It is, however, possible enough that "the Ephod and the Choshen" in Ex. 29, 5 are to be understood as *one whole*, in the sense of "that might not be loosed."

6. In the *whole Torah* we do not find that Moses had ever used the Urim ve-Thummim. - And this *argumentum ex silentio* is strong enough, since there occur many instances which were fit opportunities to use the Urim ve-Thummim, if there was one: *Numbers* 15, 32-36, the case of the "stick-gatherer," *ibid.* 16 the rebellion of Korah; (*ibid.* 25, 6-15, the case of Zimri with the Midianitish woman; at least according to the (very probable) conception of the situation by the Talmudists); *ibid.* 27, 1-11 the case of the daughters of Zelophehad (cf. soon after); *ibid.* 32, the case of the tribes Reuben and Gad; and, finally, *ibid.* 36, the case of the Gileadites with reference to the case just mentioned. True, in the case of the daughters of Zelophehad we find the phrase (27, 5): "And Moses brought their *cause* before God," and since the word "cause" is expressed by משפט, "*their judgment*" and not by דבר, it would be near enough to bring this in connection with the "Choshen of Judgment," and "Judgment of Israel." Yet the use of the same expression in its general meaning, verse 11, indicates that we have here to understand plainly that Moses has asked God what he had to do. Besides, were here some allusions to Urim ve-Thummim, it would be hard to realize why it is not said *expressly*. To the case of the daughters of Zelophehad we will have to return later.

7. *Numbers*, 27, 21: "And he (sc. Joshua) shall stand before Eleazer the priest who shall ask for him the *Judgment of the Urim* (במשפט האורים) before God."

First of all is remarkable: "the Urim" *without* the Thummim! In any case, here we have a determined utterance about the practical use of that Oracle indicated by the term Urim ve-Thummim. But a

thorough test of this passage, and all the questions which are to be attached thereto, will show that it furnishes rather one more proof for our thesis than an instance against the same.

The main objection we have as to the authenticity of this passage in the Priestly Code to which this portion of the book of Numbers is generally ascribed, is that of the *entire lack* of a corresponding passage in the book of *Joshua*. *Nowhere* in this book we find that Joshua asked the Urim through Eleazar, although there were opportunities enough for this. But as to this we have to expect the counter objection that there is very often the *Goral* (Lot) spoken of, from which the Urim ve-Thummim differ only in *name*, and, at best, perhaps also in form, while by no means in the matter itself, the latter being in both instances a sort of *Oracle*. And, indeed, the Urim ve-Thummim, in connection with the *stones* of the Ephod and the Choshen, have much in common with the "*Lot-Stones*" of the ancient *Babylonians*, which equally used to be *worn on the heart*, just as the stones of the Choshen. Likewise we find in the *Book of Jubilees* (8-11) that each of the three sons of Noah has drawn his lot from the *bosom* of their father.

This leads us to the following research on the Goral in the Priestly Code, and in the Holy Scripture in general, and it will be only after we shall have dismissed the questions attached to this problem that we shall return to the passage just taken into discussion, and to the Urim ve-Thummim in general.

III.

THE GORAL IN THE PRIESTLY CODE.

A thorough test of the passages in which the Goral is spoken of will show that the whole matter is a later interpolation:

1. *Numbers* 26, 53-56: 53. "Unto these the land shall be divided for an inheritance, *according to the number of names*. 54. To many thou shalt give the more inheritance, and to few thou shalt give the less inheritance: to every one shall his inheritance be given according to those that were numbered of him. (55. *But* the land shall be divided by *Lot*: according to the names of the tribes of

their fathers they shall inherit. 56. According to *Lot* shall the possession thereof be divided), be they many or few."

Unquestionably the whole matter of Goral which we put in brackets *contradicts* the original intention of the passage that the land be divided according to the *judgment* of the leaders on the ground of the numbers of every tribe and every family. All the well-known explanations of the commentators are not sufficient to weaken the fact that the lot, since it *describes the borders of every estate*, makes entirely superfluous every judgment and every distinction between many and few.

Besides, the *syntactic structure* of the passage, smooth and uniform when read without the words in brackets, appears very loose in its structure, and very altered as to the unity of the language when read with them. The word "But" (78-K. J. B. has "notwithstanding"—very significant for the feeling of the contradiction) indicates evidently the "seam" of the interpolation (cf. below).

2. Numbers 33, 52-55: 52. "Then ye shall drive out all the inhabitants of the land from before you, and destroy all their pictures, and destroy all their molten images, and quite pluck down all their high places. [53. And ye shall take the land in possession, and dwell therein: for I have given you the land, to possess it. 54. And ye shall inherit the land (by the Lot) according to your families, to the more ye shall give, the more inheritance, and to the fewer ye shall give the less inheritance (where the Lot falleth for everyone, there will be his) according to the tribes of your fathers ye shall inherit]. 55. But if ye will not drive out the inhabitants of the land from before you: then those ye will let remain of them shall be pricks in your eyes and thorns in your sides, and shall vex you in the land wherein ye will be dwelling."

The verses 53 and 54 interrupt sensibly the context of the passage which apparently has nothing to do with the division of the land. While, then, it is at least very probable that these verses are drawn from another source, it is quite evident that the words introducing the Goral are a still later interpolation; the reasons given in the foregoing instance being fully applicable to the present also.

3. Numbers, 34, 13: "And Moses commanded *the children of*

Israel, saying: This is the land (*which ye shall inherit by the Lot*) *which* God commanded to give unto the nine tribes, and to the half-tribe."

The words we put in brackets *contradict* the very commandment, the latter being that the Israelites give the East Jordan land to the two tribes and the half, and *not* that *they themselves* have to inherit something. Besides, the structure of the passage, when read with the questioned words, is a syntactic monster, in Hebrew still more than in English.

4. *Numbers* 36, 2, 3. The representatives of the tribe of Joseph speak before Moses: 2. "And they said: (*God commanded my lord* to give the land for an inheritance "*by the Lot*" to the children of Israel, and) *my lord was commanded* by God to give the inheritance of Zelophehad our brother unto his daughters. 3. And if they be married to any other of the sons of the tribe of Israel, *then shall their inheritance be taken from the inheritance of our fathers* and shall be put to the inheritance of the tribe whereunto they are received (and it shall be taken from the lot of our inheritance)."

The words in the first brackets introduce an entirely different matter, as the commandment of the division of the land in general has nothing to do with the case in hand. The *syntactic structure*, the *sudden change* from the *active* into the *passive* form, sufficiently betrays the presence of a later interpolation. More, nay, *absolutely evident* is this in verse 3: The words: "and shall it be taken from the lot of our inheritance" are an apparent and entirely *superfluous* repetition of the foregoing words: "then shall their inheritance be taken from the inheritance of our fathers." And there is one more evidence, if needed: v. 4: "And when the jubilee of the children of Israel shall be, then shall their inheritance be put unto the inheritance of the tribe whereunto they are received, and from the inheritance of the tribe of our fathers will be taken away as much as the inheritance of those." The concluding words of this verse were the *pattern* for the interpolator who added the Goral of his own.

5. We desist from a special test of the Goral in *Leviticus* 16, as it was shown already by the critics that the whole matter of the

two goats and the *two lots* is not genuine in the Priestly Code; besides, *two lots* are entirely different from *the Lot before God*, only the latter being to be brought in connection with Urim ve-Thummim.

ANNOTATION.

Leviticus 16, by the way, suggests a new problem not only in the question under discussion, but also in the question as to the original of the Priestly Code in general. In verse 4 are mentioned only *the linen coat*, the *linen breeches*, the *linen girdle*, and the *linen mitre*, this in connection with the vv. 23, 24, and others being the underlying of the known *halachistic* distinction between "the white garments" and the "golden garments" sufficiently justified in other portions of the Priestly Code in its more or less established contents. But if we test the prescribed Consecration ceremonial in Ex. 29 we find there in v. 9: "And thou shalt gird them with girdles, *Aaron* and his sons" This commandment concerning Aaron is very strange after it has been said in v. 5: ". . . and gird him (sc. Aaron) with the *curious girdle* of the Ephod": *the linen girdle upon the curious girdle!* And this disharmony becomes all the more suspicious when we find that *it was removed* in the account of the performance of the Consecration ceremonial, Lev. 8 (cf. v. 7 and 13). And now let us read the said passage in Ex. 29, 5-9: 5. "And thou shalt take the garments, and put upon Aaron the coat (and the robe of the Ephod, and the Ephod, and the Choshen, and gird him with the curious girdle of the Ephod). 6. And thou shalt put the mitre upon his head (and put the holy crown upon the mitre). 7. Then shalt thou take the anointing oil and pour upon his head, and anoint him. 8. And thou shalt gird them with girdles, Aaron and his sons, and put bonnets on them . . ." Read without the words in brackets, and the passage is smooth and harmonious in itself. Compared with this, the prescription of the holy garments, Ex. 28, would have to read: 4. "And these the garments which they shall make: (a Choshen, and an Ephod, and a robe, and) a brodered coat, a mitre, and a girdle. 39. And thou shalt embroider the coat of fine linen, and thou shalt make the mitre of fine linen, and thou shalt make the girdle of

needlework. 40. And for Aaron's sons thou shalt make coats, and thou shalt make for them girdles, and bonnets shalt thou make for them, for glory and for beauty. 41. And thou shalt put them *upon Aaron thy brother, and his sons with him*; and shalt anoint them, and consecrate them, and sanctify them, that they may minister unto me in the priest's office." If we compare this latter verse with Ex. 29, 9, it becomes at once evident that in excluding the words in brackets and the passage 4b-28 we do nothing else than restore the *original context* of the matter.

Thus we have to distinguish a *new stratum* in this portion of the Priestly Code: Even the *Ephod* is *not* genuine here! Thus the garments of the priest were, according to the very original of the Priestly Code, very *plain and simple*, garments of linen, without any pomp and parade. And likewise it would not be very difficult to show that the whole sacrifice ceremonial in the original Priestly Code was very plain and simple.

But a thorough test of this question from the only viewpoint out of which the outcome can be of some significance for our subject-proper, dogmatics, would have us enter into a research of numerous questions, the discussion of which would fill an extensive volume. Namely, 1. how far the quotations of the Priestly Code in Neh. 8-13 presupposes the present contents of the same (this question is set forth in my history of Dogmas in Judaism). 2. How far the tradition about the priestly institutions in the talmudical literature agree with or, at least, does not differ from the Bible. 3. To what time are the institutions, mentioned in the talmudical literature, to be dated back. These questions and others certainly are important in themselves; yet their dogmatical outcome would not justify the large discussion we would have to enter into,—at least not in this place.

IV.

THE GORAL IN THE BOOK OF JOSHUA.

Because of the close connection of the decisive passage in Numbers 27 with the Goral in the book of Joshua we have to test also this book. We extend, then, our thesis of the Goral being a later interpolation, to this book, on the strength of what is to be pointed

out in the following. Of course we do not deal here with the question of the composition of this book. In general we are standing on the ground of modern Biblical criticism in this question, too. According to the most accepted view the contradictions and the repetitions in the stories about the conquest of the land and its division, even as in those about other points, are to be explained by the fact that the different portions have been drawn from different sources; the latter being partly identical with, and partly in the spirit of the sources of the Torah: E. J. (Elohist-Jahvist), P. (Priestly Code), and D. (Deuteronomy; or, D2, the later "redactor" of the book of Deuteronomy). But in this Excursus we have to go beyond the limits within which the critics have confined the question. We have to show that the critics, ascribing passages with the Goral indifferently to P., both in the Torah and in the book of Joshua, are mistaken. We will show that the Goral is introduced into the Bible by almost the *last interpolations* in the same; thus the passages with the Goral, we are about to treat, shall present themselves as the *last stratum* in the composition of the books in question. And, naturally enough, this will throw a new light upon many a critical question:

1. *Joshua* 11, 23: "So Joshua took the whole land, according to all that God said unto Moses; and Joshua gave it for an inheritance unto Israel *according to their division by their tribes*; and the land rested from war. 12, 2: Sihon, King of the Amorites, who dwelt in Hesbon . . . 4. And the coast of Og King or Bashan . . . 6. . . . and Moses, the servant of God, gave it *for a possession* unto the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh. 7. And these the kings of the country which Joshua and the children of Israel smote on this side Jordan on the west . . . which Joshua gave unto the tribes of Israel *for a possession according to their divisions*."

"For a possession according to their divisions" corresponds to the command of "to the more ye give the more inheritance, and to the fewer ye give the less inheritance," while there is no mention of the Goral. On the contrary, the *parallelism* with the two tribes and the half unquestionably indicates that the division of the western land took place in the same mode as that of the eastern, with regard to which we find nowhere any mention of or allusion to the Goral.

2. Joshua 13, 6-8: "All the inhabitants of the hill country from Lebanon unto Misrephoth-maim, and all the Sidonians, them will I drive out from before the children of Israel (*only* "divide thou it by lot" (this the right translation of הפלה according to the K. J. B.) unto the Israelites for an inheritance, as I have commanded thee). 7. And now divide thou this land for an inheritance unto the nine tribes, and the half tribe of Manasseh."

The words in brackets are a repetition of v. 7, and disturb the *symmetry* of "I drive out and thou divide" (perhaps originally ואתה instead of ועתה, parallel to אנכי?). And again the parallelism to the two tribes and the half in v. 8! Besides, the word "only" (רק) indicates the "seam," it calls to mind the word "but" (אך) in Numbers 26, 55.

3. Joshua 14, 1-3. "And these which the children of Israel inherited in the land of Canaan, which *Eleazar the priest*, and Joshua the son of Nun, and the heads of the fathers of the tribes of the children of Israel, distributed for inheritance to them (2. By the Lot was their inheritance, as God commanded through Moses), the nine tribes, and the half tribe."

The words in brackets disturb the context of the passage and mark themselves as an interpolation. Besides, consider the parallelism with the eastern tribes in verse 3.

4. Ibid. 6-15, and the parallel passage 15, 17-19: *Caleb*, quoting the promise of Moses (Numbers 14, 24), asks Joshua for Hebron, "the land whereon his feet have trodden," and Joshua complies with this claim. This whole event, the promise of Moses, the claim of Caleb, and the readiness of Joshua to comply with, would have been entirely impossible, if the land had to be divided by the Lot.

In 15, 13, however, we read: "And unto Caleb, the son of Jephunneh, he gave a part among the Judaites (*unto* the word of God to Joshua) the city of Arba, the father of Anak, which is [identical with] Hebron." The change of the usual *according to* the word of God" (על פי ה') into "*unto* the word of God" (אל פי ה') leaves no doubt that the Goral is meant. But besides that the words in brackets disturb the context and remove the *object* from the *verb*, this passage is a remarkable one:

To the said phrase we find *two parallels*. The one Joshua 17, 4: "And they [the daughters of Zelophehad] came near before Eleazar the priest, and before Joshua the son of Nun, and before the princes, saying, God commanded Moses to give us an inheritance among our brethren; and he gave them (*unto* the word of God) an inheritance among the brethren of their father." Also here there can be no doubt that the Goral is meant, especially if we remember the passage in Numbers 36, 2, in which the Goral was inserted into this case (cf. above). But what was said of the first passage is fully applicable to this also: The words in brackets are superfluous and remove the *object* from the *verb*. The *second* parallel is in Joshua 21, 3: "And the children of Israel gave unto the Levites out of their inheritance (*unto* the word of God) these cities and their suburbs." Again the same redundancy and the same disturbance of the context. And taken into consideration that these three times we find this phrase, are the *only ones* met with in the whole Bible, it becomes quite evident that they present an interpolation referring to the Urim and Thummim. (The same is to be said of Joshua 19, 50: The words: "*according to* the word of God they gave him," although not being in the special coinage of the foregoing passages, undoubtedly refer to the Goral; but they are equally superfluous and disturbing. Moreover they contradict the whole account. Had there been a Goral, Joshua would not have asked for any special favor, he would rather have relied upon the divine decision)!

5. And now we come to the *main passages* in this matter, in the chapters: 15. 16. 17. 18. 21, treating the *main division* of the land. In these chapters the Goral was inserted into the thread of the narrative in an *organic* manner. Here the interpolator did not content himself with brief "annotations" of the kind we have learned; he rather *elaborated* the original narrative like "one who disposes of his own." Nevertheless it will be possible to disclose the method he used. After the determination of the borders of the tribes of Judah and Joseph (Ephraim and the western half of Manasseh) has been spoken of, in 15-17, the same action is reported with regard to the "remaining seven tribes," in 18, 19. Chapter 18 contains *the passage* in which the *merits* of the Goral are introduced into the division of the land; we begin, accordingly, with this passage:

a. Joshua 18, 1-10: 1. "And the whole congregation of the children of Israel assembled together at Shiloh and set up the Tabernacle of the congregation there. And the land was subdued before them. 2. And there remained among the children of Israel seven tribes, which had not yet received their inheritance. 3. And Joshua said unto the children of Israel: How long are ye slack to go to possess the land, which God, the God of your fathers hath given you? 4. Give out from among you three men for each tribe, and I will send them, and they shall rise and go through the land, *and describe it according to the inheritance of them*; and they shall come *again* to me. 5. *And they shall divide it into seven parts*: Judah shall abide in their coast on the south, and the house of Joseph shall abide in their coast on the north. (6. And ye shall describe the land into seven parts, and bring hither to me, and I will cast Lot for you here before God, our God). But the Levites have no part among you; for the priesthood of God is their inheritance: and Gad, and Reuben, and half the tribe of Manasseh, have received their inheritance beyond Jordan on the east, which Moses, the servant of God, gave them. (8. And the men arose, and went away; and Joshua charged them that went to describe the land, saying, go and walk through the land, and describe it, and come again to me, and here I will cast Lot for you, in Shiloh before God). 9. And the men went and passed through the land, and described it by cities into seven parts in a book, and came to Joshua to the host at Shiloh. (10. And Joshua cast Lot for them in Shiloh before God), and there Joshua divided the land unto the children of Israel *according to their divisions*."

The question why the division of the land did not take place at once for all the western tribes, a question which made some critics state that the separation of the tribes Judah and Joseph from the others is a later feature, does not belong to our subject. And it is only by the way that we remark that this separation seems to have some *historical background*, as of these two tribes, Judah and Joseph (as far as Ephraim is concerned), one was *dominant* in the South, and the other in the North.

As to the passage just quoted it is evident that the words in

brackets are a later interpolation: v. 6 is but a *repetition* of v. 4; v. 8 of v. 9, and the first half of v. 10 of the second half of the same. If read without these words, the passage, though composed of elements drawn from different sources (P. 1, 11-28; J. E. 2-6, 8-10; D2 v 7), presents quite a systematic and harmonious whole. The fact that the omission does not cause any lacuna in the thread of the narrative (which holds true of all passages in question), is a strong indication in itself. Yet it becomes still stronger if we pay attention to the other fact that the omitted passages are in *contradiction* with the main narrative. Of what use was the detailed description of the land by the representatives of the tribe, if everything had to be done through the Lot before God? Was it necessary to *provide God* with geographical data? Furthermore, in v. 4 and 5 it is said expressly that the *messengers themselves* were charged to divide the land, moreover to divide it "according to the inheritance of them." It is clear, then, that according to the final redaction of the narrative, Joshua, while he himself performed the detailed determination of the borders of the two dominating tribes, charged with this task the messengers with regard to the seven tribes that remained, after he himself had described the borders in a rough sketch; contenting himself as to the details with the final ratification of the work done by the messengers (v. 10*b*).

From this main passage we take the standard for all the others in which the interpolation of the Goral is not quite so evident.

b. 15, 1: "And it was *the Lot* to the tribe of the Judaites according to their families *to* (ל) the border of Edam" This style: "the Lot to the border" marks the word "hag-Goral" as *non-genuine*. In all verses which deal with the borders of Judah, thus in almost *all verses* (2-12) the word "border," or "the border" is the grammatical *subject* of the sentence, "and the border went up;" "and the border was drawn;" "and the border compassed;" "and the border went out"—with one exception, v. 1, "and it was the Goral!" The usual phrase at the beginning of a description is: "and it was the border," (cf. 17, 7; 18, 12; 19, 18, 25, 33, 41); and it is very probable that in our passage originally was: "and it was the border of (the inheritance of) the tribe of Judah according to

their families, *from* the border of Edom . . .” And the like in the passages: 17, 1 (the words *ויהי הגורל* are to be eliminated; the sentence *כי הוא-והבשן* being an “explanation”); 17, 5 (here most probably was *ויהיו* instead of *ויפלו*).

c. 17, 14-18 [(*אחר (אחת ?)* נחלה (גורל) *אחר*, and *לא יהיה לך גורל אחר* are marked as interpolation and elaboration]: The *complaint* of the tribe Joseph of the smallness of its inheritance would have been entirely impossible, if the division would have been performed by the Goral before God. Still more impossible would have been the answer of Joshua: Help yourself!

d. In the account of the division of the land between “the seven tribes that remained,” the insertion of the Goral took place in the way of a thorough elaboration (cf. 18, 11; 19, 1, 10, 17, 24, 32, 40): It is sufficient to look at the style (*גבול גורלם*), and to the unskillful *repetitions* in the introductory formula: 19, 1: “And the second lot came forth to *Simeon, to the tribe of the Simeonites according to their families*: their inheritance was . . .”; 19, 17. 18: *To Issachar came out the fourth lot, to the Issacharites according to their families*: their border was . . .” It is evident that the original narrative reported only a division “according to their families” without using any other means. Likewise the *position* of the word “by the Lot” in the *concluding verse* of this portion (19, 51: *בגורל בשלה*!) betrays its being a later interpolation.¹⁰

6. A clearer insight into the method of the interpolator we are to get in the account of the distribution of the *cities* to the *Levites*. In this passage (21, 3-33) we have a *double* account (9-36 parallel to

¹⁰Especially is this evident as to the inheritance of the tribe *Dan*: In *Judges* 18, 1—2. 7—12. 27—29, there is *no mention* of Goral. The report begins: (In those days there was no king in Israel, and) in those days the tribe of the Danites sought them *an inheritance* to dwell in (for unto that day naught *had fallen* unto them among the tribes of Israel as an inheritance). And the Danites sent, etc. The words in brackets, while evidently an interpolation of a would-be harmonizer, bear testimony to the fact that the Danites conquered the cities Zorah and Eshtaol and Laish (vv. 2—8, 14, 27, 29, identical with those in *Joshua* 19, 41, 47, determined by the Goral) without being encouraged thereto by the Goral. Surely, it is strange that this peculiar harmonizer overlooked this fact, but it is just this confusion which establishes one more evidence that the entire matter of the Goral is a later interpolation.

3-5, and 27-33 to v. 6-7), drawn from different sources, which in the final redaction apparently were brought into relation to each other by making of them a brief introduction and a detailed explanation. And now if we become aware that the interpolator *did not insert the Goral in all* the verses in question, we soon are able to find his *method*: He, evidently, contented himself with inserting the Goral *only once* into every account, namely, *either* into that of the *introduction*, or into that of the *explanation*. He spared the verses 7, (18), 19, (22, 24, 25, 26), 27, (29, 31, 32), 33, 34, 35, (37), 39; the verses in brackets not belonging fully to the consideration, as they indicate only the Israelitish tribes from which the cities have been taken, while the decision depends chiefly on those verses which ascribe certain cities to a certain *family of the Levites*. Taking only the latter, he interpolates the Goral at the families *Kehath-Aaron* in the introduction and leaves it out in the explanation (cf. 4, 9, 10, 19); likewise at the rest of *Kehath* (cf. 5, 20, 26), and at *Gershon* (cf. 6, 27, 33); while he does the *opposite* with regard to the families of *Merari* (cf. 7, 34). The same we find in regard to the *concluding verses*: he inserts the Goral into those of the introduction, while he neglects to do so with those of the explanation (cf. 8, 39). Of course we did not overlook the mention of the Goral at the families of *Kehath* in the explanation (cf. 10, 20), but the *change in the phrase* indicates that we have to do here with a still later interpolation (cf. the unusual phrase *בגורל ראשונה* v. 10 with the plain *בגורל* in the other verses; cf. below; likewise the unusual coinage of *ערי גורלם* is an indication of a different hand). And also this: In v. 2 the representatives of the Levites claim the cities and their suburbs on the ground of the commandment of God to Moses (cf. also v. 8, and below, the parallel in *Chronicles*), not mentioning the Goral at all; even as in the relative commandment there is no allusion to the Goral. Quite on the contrary, this commandment reads (*Numbers*, 35, 8): "And as to the cities ye shall give of the possession of the Israelites: *from the many ye shall give many, and from the few ye shall give few*; every one shall give of his cities unto the Levites according to his inheritance which he inheriteth." Thus the distribution had to take place according to the estimation of many and

few which would have been alike impossible and superfluous, if the distribution would have been accomplished by the Goral.

7. *Judges*, 1, 1-3: "Now, after the death of Joshua it came to pass that the children of Israel asked God, saying, Who shall go up for us against the Canaanites first, to fight against them? 2. And God said; Judah shall go up: behold, I have delivered the land into his hand. 3. And Judah said unto Simeon his brother, Come up with me (into my lot) that we may fight against the Canaanites; and I likewise will go with thee (into thy lot). So Simeon went with him." This passage is drawn from a source having an account entirely different from those we learned in the book of Joshua, but the interpolator treated all sources indifferently. And here he overlooked the fact that according to the account into which he inserted the Goral, the inheritance of Judah had no special interest in the territory of the Canaanites, since it was the rival of Judah, the tribe of Joseph, which had to fight particularly against the Canaanites (cf. Joshua 15, 1-12, and 18, 5; and, especially, 17, 14-18)!

V.

THE GORAL IN THE BOOK OF CHRONICLES.

The Book of Chronicles furnishes a very striking evidence of the Goral being a later interpolation in the Priestly Code, and in the book of Joshua.

1. In the book of Chronicles there is some mention of how the different tribes conquered their settlements: 1 Chr. 2, 50, and 4, 22, as to Judah; 4, 32 Simeon; 5, 8f. Reuben; 5, 11, 17, Gad; 5, 19-23, the two tribes and the half; 7, 21, 28, 29 Ephraim and (western) Manasseh; 8, 13, 29 Benjamin; while we find no mention of the Goral. The author of the book of Chronicles is in the habit, I admit, of leaping over the fate of the Northern Kingdom with brief remarks. Nevertheless, had he had before him the Goral in the division of the land in the Torah, and in the book of Joshua, which both belong to his sources, he would not have omitted it, at least not as far as *Judah* is concerned.

2. And this is a sure indication that in the case of the *cities of*

the Levites the Goral was inserted in the way of a later interpolation. The test of the relative passages leads to the same conclusion:

1 Chr. 36 are the words introducing the Goral at the cities of Kehath-Aaron an *incomplete* reproduction of Joshua 21, 10 (the words *כי להם היה הגורל* are to be completed by the word *ראשונה*, cf. above) where, we have seen, the interpolation is still later than the main Goral interpolations. Besides, the phrase: "for theirs was *the* Goral" presupposes that the same was already spoken of, while in reality it is the *first* mention of the same. Further we see that here the word "by the Lot" (*בגורל*) was inserted only now and then (46, 48, 50), differently from those in Joshua. The author of the book, working here after the pattern of the book of Joshua, would not have omitted the Goral in any of the passages. Especially striking is 1 Chr. 6, 49: "And the Israelites have given the Levites the (following) cities, and their suburbs," when compared with Joshua 21, 8: "And the Israelites have given the Levites these cities and their suburbs, *as God has commanded through Moses, by the Lot.*" Certainly, the author of the book of Chronicles had no reason to omit the closing words of the passage if they had been there!

3. 1 Chr. 24, 3-18, the account of the institution of "the 24 wards of the priesthood" created by *David*: v. 5, which introduces the Goral, is but a repetition of 4b, and one which even disturbs the smooth structure of the passage. This is an indication that equally in v. 7 the words: "and the Goral came out" are a later interpolation.

4. Still more evident is this in the account of "the 24 wards of the Levites." It is not until after the whole report has been dismissed without alluding anyhow to the Goral (vv. 20-30), that we read (31): "and they did cast lots, too, *parallel* (*לעמית*) to their brethren, the Aaronites, before King David."

5. The same phenomenon we find in the account of "the 24 wards of the Levites in the songs." The matter is dismissed without the Goral (25, 1-7); but, then, after the *concluding verse* (7), comes the *afterthought* (v. 8) completing the Goral. What was the *use* of the Goral? The order of succession of the 24 families in the service was determined by the king, the enumeration of the same, and the

number of their members (since only *this* is the purpose of the following list) could not be influenced in any way by the Goral. The words: "and the Goral came out" (v. 9) seem to have displaced some other words of the original text, whence arises the difficulty to explain it at all intelligibly. Another indication is the *lack of harmony* in the use of the addition "to" (ל) caused by the interpolation of the Goral (only with the wards 1, 4, 13-24).

6. 1 Chr. 26, 12-15, "the divisions of the porters:" Also here the Goral is introduced as an afterthought (v. 13), and repeatedly emphasized in a very unskillful manner (14: הפילו גורלות after: ויפלו הגורל). Note also this: The *divisions of the treasures* (26, 20-32), even as the *divisions of the officers* (ch. 27) were performed simply by the king without the aid of the Goral.

7. The same is to be expected of the book of *Nehemiah*, the continuation of the book of *Chronicles*:

a. Neh. 10, 33-38: 33. "*Also we made ordinances* for us to charge ourselves yearly with the third part of a Shekel for the service of the house of our God. 34. For the shewbread, and for the daily meat offering, and for the daily burnt offering, on the sabbaths, the new moons, and the festivals; for holy and sin offerings to make an atonement for Israel, and for all the work of the house of our God (35. *And the lots we cast* for the wood offering, among the Priests, the Levites, and the people, to bring in into the house of our God, the house of our fathers, at times appointed year by year, to burn upon the altar of God, our God) *as it is written in the Torah*. 36. *And to bring* the first fruits of our ground, and the first-fruits of all fruits of all trees, year by year, unto the house of God. 37. Also the first-born of our sons, and of our cattle, *as it is written* in the Torah. . . ."

"And to bring" (ולקח) in v. 36 cannot depend on the *lot*, it refers, accordingly, to "also we made ordinances," thus the words in brackets interrupt the context, which marks them as a later interpolation. A further evidence furnish the words: "as it is written in the Torah." In the Torah we *do not find any mention* of a wood offering. For the wood burning on the altar every morning (Lev. 6, 12) has nothing to do with the wood offering at times appointed

year by year, even if we consider this latter the preparation for the former. The *Halacha*, indeed, derives the admissibility of wood as an offering from this passage in the book of Nehemiah, not finding any allusion thereto in the Torah itself. And still the wood offering was never considered an offering in the strict sense of this institution: it was excluded from being provided with *salt*, otherwise the indispensable ingredient of every real offering (Lev. 2, 13; cf. to this subject Jerush. Shekalim VI, 6; Babli men. 20a, 22a, 106b, and parallels; cf. also R M B M. Hl. Issure Mizbeach V, 11; cf. also the Book of Jubilees, 21, 12-15; Josephus Bell. Jud., II, 17, 6). Thus it is evident that the reference to the Torah at the end of v. 35 belonged originally to the contents of v. 34, which really are to be found there, parallel to the reference in v. 37; the wood offering being merely one of the measures taken by Nehemiah, as reported 13, 31, where the interpolator took it from with the view to present it as being on a par with Biblical ordinances.

b. Neh. 11, 1, 2: 1. "And the rulers of the people dwelt at Jerusalem, while the rest of the people (cast lots to bring) one of ten (to dwell) in Jerusalem (the holy city), and nine parts in the cities. 2. And the people blessed all the men *that willingly offered themselves* to dwell in Jerusalem."

Read without the words in brackets, and the passage is smooth and consistent in itself; read them with, and the wording becomes languid; "the holy city" after the name of Jerusalem was mentioned previously without this epitheton; "cities" without any addition in contradistinction to "city;" "to bring—to dwell" (להביא לשבת), is poor Hebrew: while both verbs depend on "cast lots" (הפילו גורלות), each of them has a different grammatical subject (in English "to bring" is *causative*, like "to have one of ten to dwell," but not so in biblical Hebrew; להביא means to bring the people *from* the province). According to the present structure of the sentence even the nine parts were *to be brought* into the cities—from where? But *decisive* is the fact, that the first verse in its present wording *directly contradicts* the clear sense of the second. The people offered *themselves willingly* (המתנדבים), thus there was no need for Goral. Of course, it is not just impossible to interpret that the people were willing

to accept the announcement of the Goral. Yet besides that one's acceptance of the outcome of the Goral is a thing altogether different from one's willingly offering oneself, it would have been expressed, that the people declared themselves willing to be obedient to the Goral. Besides, he who willingly offers himself for anything, and receives, moreover, a blessing for his willingness must be *present*, and is not to be brought from elsewhere.

VI.

URIM VE-THUMMIM—CONCLUSION.

Now, we return to the question of the Urim ve-Thummim in the Priestly Code.

1. Numbers 27, 18-23. Since we have seen that the Goral in the book of Joshua is a later interpolation, and that according to its original account the distribution of the land and the Levitic cities has taken place without any means of that kind, our objection as to v. 21 of the passage at hand stands in its full weight: If the commandment that Joshua use the Urim is genuine in the Priestly Code, why do we not find any mention of such an action in the whole book of Joshua, including those parts which have been drawn from, or written in the spirit, of that source?

The same evidence is furnished by the consideration of the passage in its whole context:

18. "And God said unto Moses, Take thee Joshua, the son of Nun (a man in whom is spirit), *and lay thine hand upon him.* 19. And set him before Eleazar, the priest, and before all the congregation, and give him a charge in their sight. 20. (And thou shalt put some of thine glory upon him), that all the congregation of the children of Israel may hear it. (21. And he shall stand before Eleazar the priest, who shall ask for him the judgment of the Urim before God: at his word shall they go out, and at his word shall they come in, he, and all the children of Israel with him, and the whole congregation). 22. And Moses did as God commanded him: and he took Joshua *and set him before Eleazar the priest, and before all the congregation.* 23. And he laid his hands upon him, and gave him a charge; as God commanded through Moses."

The critics ascribe this passage to the Priestly Code. But it is evident that the words in brackets disturb the context of the passage which, read without them becomes clear and consistent in itself. The commandment to set Joshua before Eleazar and the whole congregation tends simply to *publicity* and *solemnity*, and by no means to the idea of Joshua being subject to the *superiority* of Eleazar undoubtedly purposed in v. 21.¹¹ This idea is *entirely unknown* in the book of Joshua. The phrase: "at his word they shall *go out*, and at his word they shall *come in*" means but that the question whether or not to *wage war* has to be decided by Eleazar (through the Urim; cp. 1 Sam. 23, 2; 30, 7; 2 Sam. 2, 1). But in all the wars which Joshua started and finished we do not find any mention that he had asked the counsel of Eleazar, be it with the Urim or without the same; although there was many a difficult situation. And even the only time we find with Joshua anything like the Urim, the *being taken before the Ark* (ch. 7; from J E.), everything was done without Eleazar, (comp., however, Josephus, Ant. V, 1, 14). The only co-operation of Eleazar is at the division of the land, but his function is just that of co-operation, not that of superiority.

The words in brackets which do not concern the Urim, while being one more indication that the passage under discussion underwent a later elaboration, cannot be treated in connection with our special question.

2. Esra 2, 62-63 (Neh. 7, 64-65): 62. "These (sc. the Barzillaites) sought the registers of their genealogy, but they were not found; and they have been *removed* (as polluted?) from the priesthood. (63. And the Thirshatha said unto them, that they should not eat of the most holy things, *till there stood up a priest* with Urim ve-Thummim)." According to the first verse the cause of the Barzillaites has been *definitely decided*, and they have been unconditionally removed from the priesthood; thus the second verse is marked as an afterthought with the view to restrain this decision,

¹¹Besides, according to the older fashion of this report (that is to say, in the old source used by the composer of the Priestly Code) there was *no mention* of Eleazar at all. Deut. 31, 7: And Moses called unto Joshua, and said unto him *in the sight of all Israel*: Be strong and of good courage, etc.

and to make it conditional. Of course it is very easy to interpret both verses as one whole, and to conceive the latter as having been originally written as an explanation of the former. But what we have to consider is this:

From this report we learn the fact that at the time of Esra and Nehemiah there was no Urim ve-Thummim. Taking into consideration that it was about a century after the definite restoration of the Temple, it is hard to realize why they did not restore the Urim ve-Thummim. And if one might conclude from this passage that Nehemiah was about to restore the Urim ve-Thummim, or, perhaps, that it was already restored, so that the Barzillaites had to wait for the decision only one day or two—we should only remember that we do not find any mention of Urim ve-Thummim during the second Temple. The whole matter of Urim ve-Thummim had sunk into so deep an oblivion that we do not find any tradition about them in the talmudical literature except for one *controversy* between two Amoraim who apparently are only *guessing* and *divining* on the matter (cf. Mishna Joma VII, at the end, and Babli, *ibid.* p. 73*b*; and parallels). Besides, our account *does not* tell us that the decision took place afterwards through the Urim ve-Thummim. And as we do not find any mention of the Urim ve-Thummim in the whole book of Chronicles, it is almost evident that originally there was nothing of Urim ve-Thummim, and that even the interpolator only expresses his view that Nehemiah certainly did not decide definitely such an important question, but that he rather delayed the decision till it would be possible to ask the Urim ve-Thummim.¹² By this inter-

¹²Comp. I. Maccab. 14, 41; Baruch Apoc., Syr., 6, 7; Testam. of the Twelve Patr., Levi, 8; Joseph., Ant., xviii., 4, 3; xx., 1; Philo, Quis rer. div. heres, 60. In all of these relations, and in others, there is no determined answer to the question, what the Urim ve-Th. really were.—B. Jacob, Der Pentateuch, Leipzig, 1905, p. 319, says that the U. ve-Th. were *two written scrolls*, but this is a mere guess. For Urim in Numb. 27, Jacob has also another interpretation, p. 317, which is rather in contradiction with that given to Ur. ve-Th. together.

As to the explanations given by Jacob to some of the difficulties, mentioned in this Excursus, and in History of Dogmas concerning the *Cherubim*, I mention only that his arguments do not meet the very perplexities of the matter. Naturally enough, since the most decisive of those perplexities escaped

potation, however, he could not hope to achieve more than the supposition that Nehemiah *intended* to restore this old oracle. To state that he did so was hard in view of the fact that at that time there was nothing like that.

CONCLUSION: The conclusion to which all the discussed passages and facts bring us, is this:

In the ancient time there was an Oracle the Israelites used to ask in difficult situations. The medium of this Oracle was now the *Ephod*, or the T'raphim, now the Urim, or the *Urim ve-Thummim* (while we do not find the Choshen in this function), now the *Goral*, and sometimes, perhaps, even the *Ark* (cf. Judges 27, 28; yet the words: בִּיטִים הָהֵם . . . וְשֵׁם אֲרוֹן are evidently a later interpolation). At the time of the second Temple, and probably even at the time of the first Temple, there was nothing like these institutions, at least not authoritatively acknowledged. The kings of Juda, and even those of Israel used to ask the *prophets* whether or not to start war (cf. 1 Kings 22). Likewise in the originals of the second and third Books of the Covenant, even as in other accounts of the later times there was no mention of these Oracles (probably even the *Ephod*, although it might have lost its original sense, was not in the original of the Priestly Code). The passages in question are later interpolations inserted at the time when the Torah was no longer the last dogmatical document (cf. History of Dogmas in Judaism). The latest are those of the book of Chronicles in which some of the passages quoted above were inserted at the time when the Lot was introduced into the service of the second Temple (פִּיִּים). This Lot, however, had lost its original importance as an Oracle. And it was probably only the endeavor of private overzealous piety that the old oracles were drawn from older sources and inserted into many portions of the Bible, with the end perhaps to justify the later Lot, and to give it more importance and dignity, by the allusion to ancient institutions from which it may have been derived.

the attention of Jacob. The question, how far the exegetical views developed in that work are to alter the results of Biblical criticism, cannot be discussed here; even as in general we had to desist from polemics in this brief treatise. It is sufficient to say, that Jacob greatly overestimates the bearing of his exegetical aspects on the problems of Biblical criticism.

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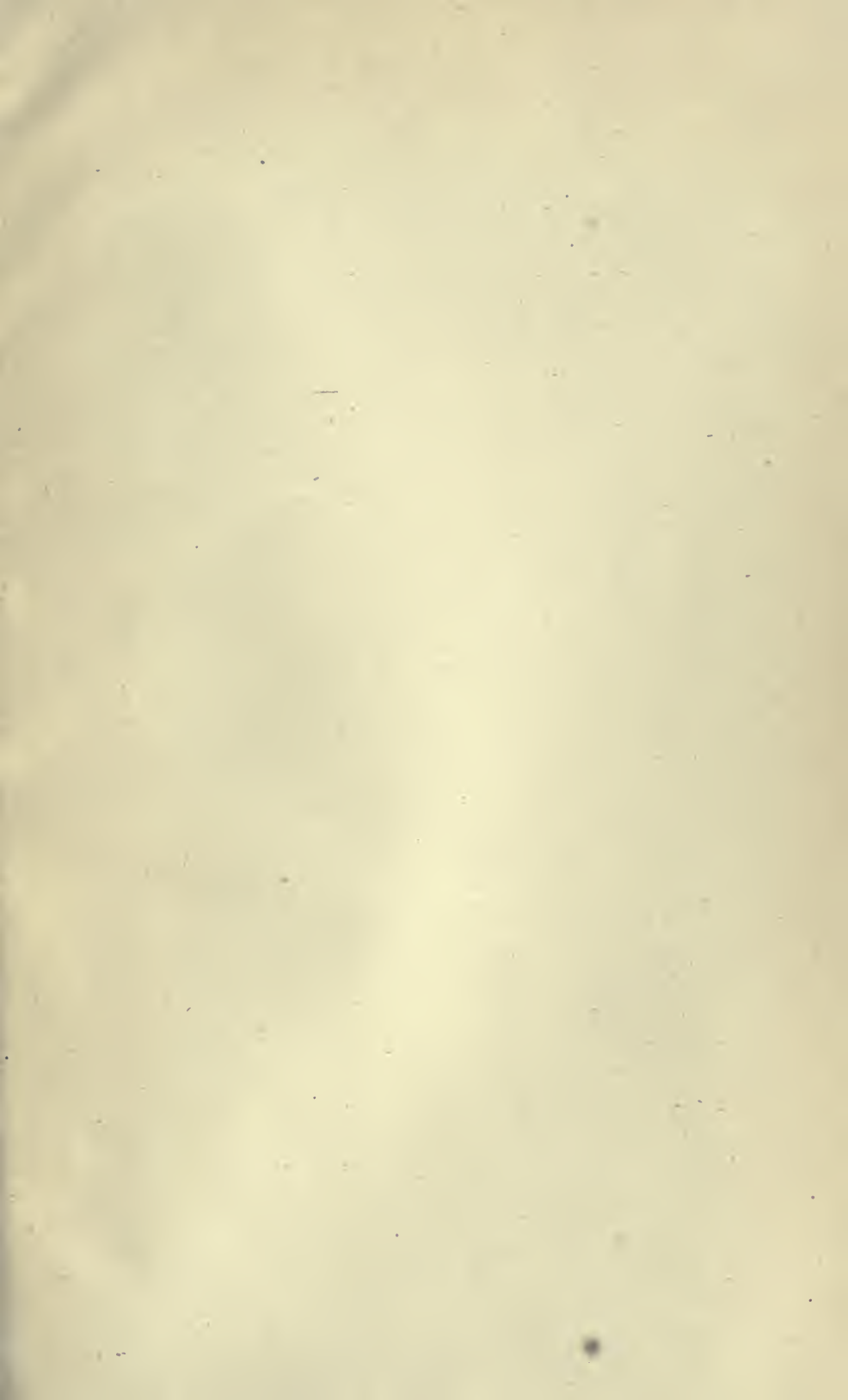
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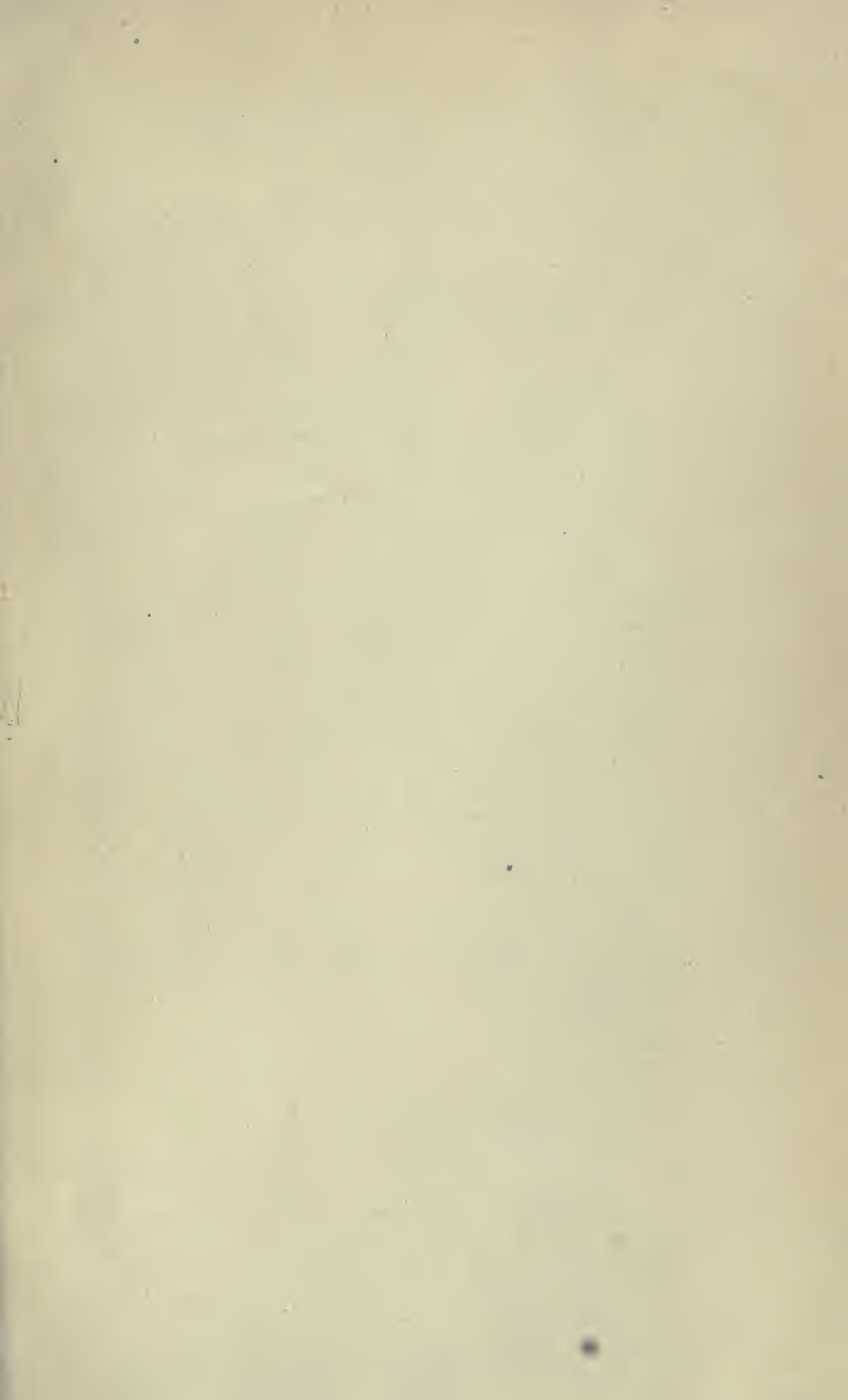
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